



Daily Report

East Europe

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Pact Demilitarization To Begin 1 Jan 1991

LD0706174790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] The Warsaw Pact's summit meeting has concluded in Moscow with the issuing of a joint communique. Hungarian Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo spoke to our correspondent Gabor Izbeki about the results.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] I believe that this Moscow session of the Warsaw Pact's member states concluded with a considerable Hungarian success. Already, our premier, Jozsef Antall, who was chairing during the first half of the session, managed to get the participants to accept, when approving the agenda, that as the second point, it should not be the radical reforming, the transformation of the Warsaw Pact's military organization, but rather its review [feluevizsgalat] which should be discussed. And this was the Hungarian objective.

Regarding the statement, and thus the summary of the session's results, the essence from the Hungarian viewpoint is in the fourth and the sixth point. In these two points, of key importance, there was success in asserting the Hungarian objectives, the Hungarian viewpoints.

They contain the essential sentences, thus: The states represented at the session will actively take part in this dynamic process, that is, in the transformation of Europe, and for this reason they consider a review of the character and functions of the Warsaw Pact to be indispensable. Their conviction is that only in this case will the Warsaw Pact be suitable in the transition period for performing the new, timely tasks related to disarmament, the creation of an all-European security system.

The second essential circumstance in the sixth point is that in this new situation, the Warsaw Pact states will begin work on reviewing the pact's character, functions, and activity. And for this purpose, a provisional committee of government representatives was set up, which by the end of October this year will submit to the political consultative committee its concrete proposals pertaining to this. These proposals will be examined by the political consultative committee by the end of November.

I should like to add to this that also figuring in the minutes which were not made public is that the organization will hold an extraordinary session of the political consultative committee, moreover in Budapest, sometime in November, and there, on the basis of the committee's report, recommendations, the measures will be determined, by means of which the above-signalled review and—in practical terms and according to our objectives, hopes—the winding up, dismantling of the

military organization of the Warsaw Pact will begin. According to my information these same minutes also provide that in the event of agreement, these measures, the implementation thereof, will begin as from the beginning of the year, 1 January.

[Izbeki] Can this be assessed in such a way as to claim that in effect the Hungarian delegation has completed all its tasks at this political consultative committee session?

[Laszlo] Yes, and what's more, without a break, without confrontation and collisions.

[Izbeki] Then what is the explanation for the fact that at the session—with the exception of the Hungarian delegation—still no one dealt in a concrete fashion with these plans?

[Laszlo] Various, partly similar but much more hesitant and incoherent proposals have been made; by the Czechoslovak president and the GDR prime minister. But it was only the Hungarian delegation which put its proposals in such a rational, comprehensive, interrelated system.

[Izbeki] Then, in the end, the closing communique reflects the fact that really everybody was expecting that something like this should happen because—we must not be too modest—it was not thanks to the aggressiveness of the Hungarians to get such a decision, but because the situation matured for the birth of such a decision.

[Laszlo] The situation did mature for a decision but of course the game has not been played out yet. And it has also come to light at this session that considering the aims and direction of the transformation of the Warsaw Pact and its adjustment to the spirit of the times, significant differences also exist between the member states.

Essentially, it was the Hungarian delegation alone which formulated the position that time had passed over the military organization of the Warsaw Pact and the most rational thing would be to gradually abolish the lot. The others, the rest of the member states, in general took the position that the Pact, after thorough reform, could still fulfill a positive—what's more, a constructive—role in bringing the two sides of Europe closer and in shaping a new, comprehensive European security system.

[Izbeki] Does the adoption of the Hungarian proposal mean that the Soviets completely agree with it?

[Laszlo] The acceptance of the Hungarian proposal roughly means that we could try to carry out our aims with the help of a suitably worked out channel, institution. As to whether in the final analysis it will succeed in this way, whether it will materialize in this way can only be shown by the coming months. [end recording]

Hungary, Romania Defense Ministers Meet in Moscow

*LD0706151890 Budapest MTI in English 0938 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Moscow, June 7 (MTI)—The good relations established between the armies of Hungary and Romania, during the early phase of the December revolution in Romania, should be preserved. This joint wish was expressed during a Thursday morning [7 June] meeting between Lajos Fur, Hungarian minister of defence, and his Romanian counterpart Victor Stanculescu.

The meeting, that took place at the initiative of the Romanian side, was also attended by Antal Annus, public administration state secretary of the Ministry of Defence, and Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army.

The meeting also presented an opportunity for the two ministers to become acquainted, given that so far they only talked to each other by phone after last week's earthquake in Romania. Mr Stanculescu expressed his thanks to his Hungarian colleague for the assistance offered at the time.

Topics of the ministerial exchange also included future cooperation between armies of the two countries.

Speaking about the good relations between their armies the Romanian minister said it would be desirable if they could be shifted to relations between the peoples of the two countries as well.

Mr Fur said he would welcome an official visit to Hungary by the new Romanian defence minister, to be appointed by the newly forming government, in the wake of recent elections.

Balcar on Washington Summit Defense Issues

*LD0706214190 Prague CTK in English 1321 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Vienna June 7 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovakia's representative at the Vienna talks on conventional weapons said today that the Soviet-American summit meeting failed to produce recipes for solving the main contentious issues, required by the Vienna negotiations.

Ladislav Balcar, leading a Czechoslovak delegation to the Vienna disarmament forum of delegates of 23 member states of both military alliances, told CTK that "troop numbers in Central Europe is a question closely linked to the issue of Germany's unification and will evidently constitute a separate chapter at the 'four plus two' negotiations. On the issue of the air force, both the USA and the USSR have done nothing but confirmed their earlier positions".

Balcar added that possibilities of boosting the talks existed in all other spheres. A contribution towards expanding this scope was produced by a debate at the level of experts during the summit, at which the USSR came up with new suggestions concerning tanks and armoured vehicles.

CSCE Human Rights Conference Held in Copenhagen

Albania Wants Full Role in CSCE Process

AU0606154790 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT
6 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, June 6 (AFP)—Albania wants to join the East-West human rights, security and cooperation process after a short transition period, it was announced here Wednesday.

Emerging from decades of international isolation, the only European country not in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, was Tuesday for the first time granted observer status at the Conference on the Human Dimension which opened here Tuesday under the CSCE mandate.

Albanian ambassador in Stockholm Petrit Bushati told journalists: "The aim is that we adopt all the rules of the conference and of course take care to accept what has been accepted by other participating countries."

But asked if Albania would allow opposition parties, Tirana's delegate Bejo Saza said there was no history of opposition and there was "no need to artificially create opposition."

"There has never been any request for political parties," he said. "This government has enjoyed full approval by the people."

Mr. Bushati denied that the 55,000-strong Greek minority in Albania suffered discrimination.

Eighty-five political prisoners were in Albanian jails but they had sought to use "violence or force to overthrow or change the government". He said there was "no law against religion in Albania" and "no harassment".

"Albania has carried out many transformations in a short period of time," Mr. Bushati said.

The human rights conference in the Danish capital is debating proposals to adopt the principles of political pluralism, free elections and the rule of law.

The 35-nation CSCE, set up to implement the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 covering human rights, economic and security cooperation, groups the United States and Canada with the rest of Europe.

Shevardnadze Meets Albanian Delegation Leader

AU0706115490 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, Jun 7 (ATA)—Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet minister of foreign affairs, met and had a talk with Ambassador Petrit Bushati, leader of the Albanian delegation at the meeting for the humanitarian questions of the European Security and Cooperation Conference being held in Copenhagen of Denmark.

GDR Foreign Minister Address

LD0606145790 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1412 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Copenhagen (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel today reinforced the GDR's support for a new, united Europe, at the second CSCE human rights conference in Copenhagen. The speech, which was read out in the minister's absence, states that "the GDR Government has made it a central concern of its foreign policy to insure that the realization of the right to self-determination in the GDR and the path to the unification of Germany bring fruit to the growing together of Europe." Germany would not become a centralized state, but a federal community in which the Lands have responsibility and can carefully protect their areas of authority and their individuality. "As if in a mirror, this could reflect the pan-European structures, which could emerge, for example, from the French considerations on a European confederation of states or those of the USSR on the common European home."

Military alliances that regarded each other as enemies no longer have a place in the Europe of the future, in the GDR foreign minister's view. "We are now overcoming—and this conference is of great significance here—the division of our continent into antagonistic systems." Security in Europe could not be achieved in opposition to one another, but only together. The foreign minister affirmed: "The GDR supports initiatives that strengthen and supplement existing European institutions and that propose new structures." [passage omitted]

This afternoon, the GDR foreign minister traveled to the Soviet capital, where he was joining his country's delegation to the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states.

SFRY's Loncar Address

LD0506223990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar presented today, in his speech at the second plenary session of the conference in Copenhagen, a joint proposal on behalf of a five-member group on national minorities.

This joint document of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, and Yugoslavia is the first specific result of the recently started five-sided cooperation. Loncar stressed, expressing his conviction that its adoption and implementation at the level of CSCE members would result in strengthening multilateral trust and cooperation, and thus greater stability and security in Europe.

The status of national minorities, the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs added, is becoming a litmus test which, by its color, reveals the true values of democratic circles and human liberties in each country; it is an element which essentially determines the level of trust

among countries, but which is also increasingly turning into a potential source of danger and conflict.

Recalling that sections of the Yugoslav peoples live all around in neighboring countries, as national minorities, and that this sensitive issue reflects all the bilateral relations with our neighbors, Loncar said that "naturally, we would like our minorities to be granted those rights which we grant to the minorities in our country."

At the moment, however, the federal secretary continued, we wish and urge that they be treated in a way appropriate to the level of obligations adopted within CSCE; i.e., standards that have been adopted by the international community within the United Nations.

It would be desirable, Loncar said, that in addition to other modalities, we consider establishing international legal instruments which more closely define the right to express national identity, including supervision over the freedom of expressing national orientation. In this context the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs suggested that the national census in the CSCE member countries should be done in the presence of observers from international institutions.

The Kosovo problem, Loncar continued, in which a considerable improvement has already been achieved, should find its complete solution in the constitutionally based, guaranteed rights of minorities and within the framework of democratic processes under way throughout Yugoslavia.

However, it should be completely clear, Loncar said, that those, who on their own territories have realized high achievements in the rights of national minorities, cannot call for solutions which lead toward disintegration, which no one can accept, and which are not in the interest of stability for our neighborhood or for all Europe.

Stressing that human rights and civil liberties are values, but even more than that—universal obligations, from which it is difficult to be exempt in the conditions of increasingly strong integration and interdependence, the federal secretary for foreign affairs stated that democracy and human freedom did not harmonize well in aggravated economic and social conditions.

That is why, Loncar concluded, a little more patience and support does not mean excluding anyone from the obligations involved in human rights and that, on the contrary, this will contribute to their complete fulfillment.

Romania's Celac Address

*AU0706190990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1807 GMT 7 Jun 90*

[Text] Copenhagen ROMPRES, 7/6/1990—The idea of European security and cooperation is for Romania a problem of major national interest, stated the Romanian

foreign minister in his address to the Copenhagen conference. Sergiu Celac stressed that the free exercise of human rights and civic freedoms at the level of European norms and standards was a major concern of the government in the five and a half months since the revolution. Measures were taken to abrogate the repressive legislation that hampered the effective exercise of human rights, including the abolition of death sentence. A legislative and institutional framework was created to allow all people, more particularly those belonging to ethnic minorities, to exercise their right to use their mother tongue, promote their national culture, preserve their ethnic identity, participate in the country's political and social life through their own organizations. Links of constructive cooperation were established with international bodies with concerns in human rights protection.

What is absolutely essential for the CSCE participating states is to have a common language as far as ethnic minorities are concerned, jointly elaborate generalized European standards, to examine and evaluate the situation of the minorities in one country or another. Mr. Celac also said. The Romanian minister submitted to the meeting the proposal regarding the drafting of a declaration on the rights of the people that belong to ethnic or religious minorities and the protection of their identity.

Romania intends to support any measure meant to facilitate human contacts and remove practices that hamper the freedom of movement, such as the long waiting periods, or the prohibitive visa taxes. Mr. Celac said.

The Romanian dignitary said he was optimistic as far as a future united Europe was concerned. What is important is to jointly find the appropriate ways and means of action through which to conjugate change and stability. In this context, the transformation of the CSCE from a mere state of mind into a flexible and efficient framework of cooperation and security becomes a major priority. Consequently we welcome all the proposals regarding a possible and much coveted institutional structure of the CSCE process. We should unite and harmonize the content of the three baskets, combine the necessity of efficient guarantees as regards the legitimate interests of security with the creation of a humanitarian European space of law, within a united European economic space. In time, it will outline the future all-European system of security and cooperation, emancipated from the logic of the policy of blocs, which is, by definition, a logic of confrontation.

Hungary's Jeszenszky Meets With Baker

*LD0606165690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 6 Jun 90*

[Text] At the human rights conference in Copenhagen the Hungarian foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state held a separate discussion. James Baker promised Geza Jeszenszky that Washington would give further help to the Budapest government for the realization of the economic program. At the same time the U.S.

secretary of state also welcomed the fact that political pluralism has come to fruition in Hungary and that our country is moving toward a market economy. At the meeting, Geza Jeszenszky said that the Budapest government would strengthen its commitment to the 10 basic principles of the Helsinki closing document, and it would respect them. In addition the foreign minister of our country stressed that these obligations, together with the emergence of a democratic, pluralist constitutional state, form a firm basis for further European cooperation. However, the declaration of a democratic order does not yet mean that the general situation predominant there will change from one day to the next in the given country. There is a need for persistent and patient work to establish a constitutional state, and for this brave effort political and delicate economic decisions are necessary. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed at the human rights conference in Copenhagen.

Further on Jeszenszky-Baker Talks

LD0606195790 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT
6 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, June 6 (MTI)—During the Copenhagen conference on human dimension, Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, and his U.S. counterpart James Baker held a special meeting in the conference centre. This was the first personal meeting of the two politicians.

After the 30-minute meeting, Mr Baker spoke to journalists from MTI, "MAGYAR HIRLAP" and "NEPSZABADSAG".

"The meeting's been excellent, useful and fruitful," he said. "I was very glad to meet Mr Jeszenszky personally. We surveyed a wide range of issues, including both bilateral relations and questions relating to the changing Europe."

"We also touched upon the fact that the United States Administration attributed great significance to the success of the Hungarian Government. Another issue raised was how pleased we were with the emergence of political pluralism in Hungary and the country's progress towards a free market economy."

"The meeting ended with my pledging every possible help to Hungary. The Hungarian foreign minister spoke in appreciation of all we have done in this respect, and I expressed our genuine wish to do our utmost for the success of Hungary's economic programme."

Mr Jeszenszky's Wednesday programme also featured meetings with prime ministers from the FRG, Cyprus, Italy, Yugoslavia and Spain.

Jeszenszky Address

LD0606213490 Budapest MTI in English
1924 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, June 6 (MTI)—The Republic of Hungary supports with every possible means the practical enforcement of democratic European values, the creation of a modern, higher-order European cooperation system, said Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at the Copenhagen meeting held in the theme of the human dimension.

Mr Jeszenszky said the new Hungarian Government reconfirms its commitment to the practical realization of the ten fundamental principles and all obligations set down in the Helsinki Final Act.

The foreign minister said Hungary recently did much for the positive processes emerging in Europe both with its foreign policy steps and with the transformation of its internal legal system and practice. Mr Jeszenszky mentioned the dismantling of the iron curtain, the opening of the Hungarian borders, the reception of refugees from Romania. In the wake of the free elections, Hungary is going through a genuine change in the policy and the system, and not merely a change in government. The new government is committed to the ideas of democracy, political pluralism, and pan-European integration, he said.

The principal basis of Hungarian foreign policy is the priority enforcement of the national interests. Mr Jeszenszky went on to note. Its main effort is to contribute to the creation of a new traditional bonds towards Europe, and that it join the West European integration organizations as soon as possible.

Parallel to this, Hungarian foreign policy wishes to intensify reciprocally advantageous relations towards its neighbours. Hungary will firmly continue its efforts aimed at enforcing the rights of the national minorities both within the country, and in the international relations as well. On the one hand, it is the obligation of the Republic of Hungary to ensure the future of all national minorities living in the country, on the other hand, to bear special responsibility for the fate of the millions of Hungarians living beyond the country's borders.

Hungary aims at working out an international political and legal regulation system which includes practical opportunities to safeguard the identity of the national minorities and persons who belong to these, to enforce their individual and collective rights, and one which sets up effective mechanisms to control implementation.

Jeszenszky on Minorities Proposal

LD0606222490 Budapest MTI in English 2103 GMT
6 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, June 6 (MTI)—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Italy submitted a joint

proposal on the national minorities at the CSCE Conference on Human Rights, on Wednesday in Copenhagen.

The 20-point joint motion starts from the fact that ensurance of the individual and collective rights of the national minorities is an essential factor of peace, justice, stability and democracy in the participating states. The proposal deals in detail with the ensurance of the individual and collective rights of the minorities.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky informed MTI's correspondent that he emphasized at all his meetings on Wednesday that the proposal, in the elaboration of which Hungary played a major role, does not represent particular Hungarian interests. Hungary has considerable experiences with respect to handling the minority issue. We clearly see the measures that would be needed in European and global dimensions in the interest that the minority issue no longer be a source of potential danger, the foreign minister said.

In answer to MTI's question about why, from among all Hungary's neighbours, no meeting came about with Celack, the Romanian foreign minister, Mr Jeszenszky said that although separate discussions were not held, they did meet several times during the Copenhagen conference, and the Romanian side asked to receive the text of the proposal submitted by the five countries about the national minorities. Mr Celac referred to this in his contribution, and said it offers a possibility for cooperation in several points.

Mr Jeszenszky noted that far more thorough talks are necessary with Romania than could be condensed into a 30-minute meeting. We are ready to set up such a personal meeting, he said.

On Wednesday evening, Mr Jeszenszky left for Paris, to address the general assembly of the West European Union.

Skubiszewski on Human Rights

*LD0606230990 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1515 GT 6 Jun90*

[Text] The two fundamental values born from the idea of Solidarity, which represents the Polish contribution to the changes in Europe, is the basing of politics on morality and an emphasis on dialogue, restraint, and the nonuse of force, declared Minister Skubiszewski at a CSCE meeting in Copenhagen devoted to human rights. Some Poles have violated local customs or tax regulations abroad, and this requires energetic countermeasures. The Polish Government is ready to cooperate. But there should be no refusals of visas or restrictions on visitors who come in good faith, if we are to treat seriously the adherence to the CSCE principles, noted the speaker.

Bulgaria's Staykov on Rights Reforms

*AU0706093090 Sofia BTA in English
0712 GMT 7 Jun 90*

[Text] Copenhagen, 7 Jun (BTA special correspondent)—Yesterday the leader of the Bulgarian delegation,

Mr. Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, made a statement at a plenary session of the CSCE Human Rights Conference. He spoke about the reforms which are being implemented in Bulgaria, about the democratization of society, the building up of new social and economic relations in the country, the removal of the obstacles to the free activity of the different political parties, Bulgaria's orientation to a market economy. Mentioning the amendments made to the Bulgarian Constitution and the legislation of the country, Mr. Stefan Staykov pointed out that the efficient exercise of the basic rights and freedoms of the Bulgarian citizens, the political pluralism and the separation of powers in the country are principles in which the political forces see a common basis. He paid special attention to the changes in the Bulgarian Penal Code in which acts treated in the past as "political crimes" had been decriminalized and the persons sentenced on this ground had been amnestied. "At the moment the vigorous election campaign, launched more than a month ago by 37 parties and three coalition which will run in the elections, is nearing its end. Guests from a lot of CSCE member-countries and authoritative international organizations, including the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, have been invited as observers to the elections," he said.

The speaker pointed out the busy activity of the political forces in Bulgaria aimed at a peaceful, violence-free transition to democracy.

Mr. Stefan Staykov familiarized the audience with the decisions made by the State Council and the Council of Ministers and with the ? declaration approved by the National Assembly on January 15, 1990, which resolutely condemned the policy of violating the individual rights of the Bulgarian Muslims. He mentioned the measures taken immediately to fully restore the Bulgarian Muslims to their rights as to their religion, personal life, their names, language and rites.

In conclusion Bulgaria's representative pointed out some possibilities for the further improvement of the agreements reached within the framework of the CSCE process banning all forms of torture, the freedom of press, the free movement of people, facilitating the contacts between people.

Dienstbier Talks in Copenhagen Viewed

*LD0706101890 Prague CTK in English 0733 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Moscow June 7 (CTK correspondent)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has appreciated the Czechoslovak international initiatives, including those that were presented at the Copenhagen CSCE Conference on Human Rights.

He met with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in Copenhagen on Tuesday. Their talks were businesslike and extensive, exceeding the framework of the CSCE conference, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry

spokesman Lubos Dobrovskiy has told CTK on the delegation's arrival in Moscow from Copenhagen.

He said that the two representatives discussed mainly the questions connected with the construction of new structures in Europe and spoke in detail about the possibilities of contacts between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. They agreed that such relations would help remove the existing ideological image of the enemy.

Jiri Dienstbier met in Copenhagen also with his colleagues from Italy, Cyprus, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic, and shortly with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The meeting with

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen resulted in signing an agreement on visa-free travel between the two countries.

With his colleagues Krzysztof Skubiszewski of Poland and Markus Meckel of the GDR, Jiri Dienstbier discussed the Czechoslovak proposal to institutionalize the Helsinki process. Experts of the three countries met in Prague before the Copenhagen forum to discuss the proposal. It is based on the Czechoslovak project to create a European Security Commission, the Polish proposal to establish a European Security Council and the initiatives contained in the Copenhagen speech of Eduard Shevardnadze.

IAEA Claims Albania To Build Nuclear Reactor

AU0806105990 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG
in German 8 Jun 90 p 2

[Text] According to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Albania intends to build its first nuclear research reactor.

Lazri Speaks at Tirana UNESCO Meeting

AU0706125290 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Tirana, June 6 (ATA)—The 14th conference of the Balkan countries' national commissions for UNESCO began its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on June 6. The conference is attended by the delegation of the Commission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by its vice president, Prof. Lyubomir Dramaliev; the delegation of the Commission of the Greek Republic, headed by Nikolas Papayeoryiou, president of the Commission; the delegation of the Commission of Romania, headed by its president, Mihai Golu; the delegation of the commission of the Republic of Turkey, headed by Gaye Dymak; secretary general of the Commission, the delegation of the Commission of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by Dr. Punisa Pavlovic, its president; and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Prof. Sofokli Lazri, chairman of the Albanian National Commission for UNESCO.

The conference is also attended by Ahidi Ngoma representative of the general director of UNESCO Federico Mayor, the directress of the Higher Education Center for Europe, Karing Berg, etc.

Present were also the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Prof. Alfred Uci; the deputy foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, and other guests.

The delegations elected Prof. Sofokli Lazri chairman of the 14th conference of the Balkan countries' national commissions for UNESCO. Taking the floor he said among the other things:

The changes which are taking place in the international arena in general and in our region, in particular, cannot fail to sensitize the thinking of many scientists and intellectuals in various fields of education, science and culture. Bearing in mind the possibilities which the new situations offer us, we must utilize everything possible to promote this idea not only for cultural but also for political reasons.

I would like to highlight this moment because the important transformations which are taking place make it indispensable to create a new favourable spirit in building a Balkans of peace, friendship, fraternity and freedom.

The Balkans is not a geographical notion, but first of all, it is a historical one. It is also a cultural and spiritual notion with its sometimes good and sometimes bad conscience. The winds of West and East have blown over it. Those winds have been sometimes weak and sometimes strong, warm and cold, constructive and destructive. Their traces are indelible. However one thing these winds failed to change: the historical roots of the Balkan peoples, their strong originality and popular culture which represents one of the major values of European civilization. Therefore it is this common historical destiny which has determined not only the past, but I would say, also, the present and the future.

We are all conscious that in the Balkans there are divisions, prejudices and misunderstandings. It's not the place or the occasion to dwell on them, but I mentioned this fact in order to pose a question which keeps recurring in my mind: Couldn't we overcome this situation and embark on the modern European and world course of civilization? A negative answer would lose us the hope for a better future, the confidence to fight, to correct ourselves and to advance.

This Balkans on the eve of the 21st century cannot fail to try to be civilized and modern, not only from the material but also from the spiritual and political aspects. Its historically known freedom-loving and progressive traditions become stable and inspiring when they are united with a democratic and humanitarian spirit, with a readiness for dialogue, tolerance and understanding between its states and peoples.

I would like to express my hope that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries which will be held in autumn this year in Tirana will contribute not only to the improvement of the political atmosphere in the Balkans, but it will create even better conditions for cooperation between our commissions for the successful implementation of the noble initiative they have undertaken both in the bilateral and the multilateral plane.

We believe that culture may serve as a meeting place where the roots of the common fates can converge and get elucidated and also as a means of making the creators aware of their individual and collective responsibility to preserve peace and progress of mankind, and the continuous contribution they must make to its spiritual enrichment. [passage omitted]

Balkan Energy Ministers Issue Communiqué

AU3105141490 Tirana ATA in English 1606 GMT
30 May 90

["Joint Communiqué of the Meeting of the Energy Ministers of the Balkan States"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 30 (ATA)—In the framework of the process of the Balkan cooperation, the ministers of energy of the Balkan states held a meeting in Tirana, from 29 to 30 May 1990.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Adil Carcani, sent a message of greetings to the meeting.

The meeting was attended by the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the minister, chairman of the Energy Committee, Nikola Todoriev; the delegation of the Hellenic Republic, headed by secretary general of the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Technology, Yeoryios Apostolakis [name as received]; the delegation of Romania, headed by the minister of electrical energy, Adrian Georgescu; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey, headed by the minister of energy and natural resources, Fahrettin Kurt; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by the federal secretary for energy and industry, Stevan Santo; and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by the minister of industry, mining and energy, Dr. Besnik Bekteshi, who was also elected chairman of the meeting.

In a constructive spirit of mutual respect, the ministers of energy exchanged views on the ways and possibilities of multilateral cooperation among the Balkan states in the field of energy.

Bearing in mind the interest and determination of their countries to strengthen the multilateral cooperation, the ministers stressed the necessity of joint efforts for its further development in the framework of their international obligations.

The ministers pointed out that the economic progress of the Balkan countries and their industrial potential offer opportunities of deepening and diversifying the industrial, technical and scientific cooperation in the energy sector. They recommended the study of the possibilities of expanding bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of energy planning and the implementation of energy projects, in the exploitation and utilization of solid fuels of low calorific value, in coal upgrading through utilization of advanced technologies, in the improvement of combustion processes at the existing and new plants by means of utilization of up-to-date combustion technologies for solid fuels of low calorific value, in the implementation of advanced oil and gas drilling technologies and in ensuring a high ultimate oil recovery, in the exploitation and utilization of bituminous shales and sands, in the conservation and efficient use of energy, in retrofitting of groups in thermo-power stations with long operation period, in technologies of reducing the emissions of SO₂, (noxious) fly ash etc., in flue gases.

The ministers of energy noticed that their meeting constitutes a contribution to the furthering of the multilateral cooperation in the energy sector and of the Balkan cooperation as a whole. They laid stress on the need to agree on concrete measures to utilize the potentials of the Balkan countries for the development of the mutual cooperation in the energy field, in harmony with the priorities and interests of each country.

The ministers expressed their common wish to work towards the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements on the improvement of existing energy services and the establishment of new systems as well as on an optimum utilization of the potential energy resources available in the countries of the region. They recognized the benefit of technical and technological cooperation through transferring know-how, exchange of expertise, conferences, seminars, symposia, consultancy services and the joint research and development projects, in accordance with the interests, possibilities and legislation in force in each of the countries.

The meeting highly appraised the activity of the coordinating committee for the development of the interconnection of the electric power transmission systems of the Balkan countries and its contribution for the creation of the preliminary conditions for the interconnection of the electric power systems of the Balkan countries.

Recognizing the importance of the joint operation in interconnection, the ministers agreed to recommend to the relevant electric power authorities to consider the transformation of the existing committee into a committee of the electric power systems of the Balkan countries so that, alongside with the investigating activity, it may pursue the realization of the interconnection and create the necessary conditions to increase energy exchanges among them. To this end, a working group of representatives of the electric power systems should meet in the second half of July 1990 in Ohrid to prepare the draft statute of the above-mentioned committee of the Balkan countries. This draft statute will be considered and possibly endorsed by authorized representatives of the electric power systems of Balkan countries during the next meeting in Ankara.

To accomplish the Balkan cooperation in the fields of oil and gas, coal and other energy sources, it was agreed to set up joint groups of specialists for common or specific problems in these fields. Also to ensure a close cooperation in relation to the environmental aspect of the energy sector, the ministers agreed upon to exchange all relevant information and know-how and to set up joint groups of specialists for energy and its influence to environmental issues.

In order to coordinate the activity of these groups, to examine all proposals in greater details and to prepare further multilateral activities in all fields of energy, the ministers agreed to propose to their governments that meetings of high officials and experts in the energy field, be held periodically on a rotation basis.

The first meeting will be held in Greece in the second half of 1990.

In view of the depletable character of the energy resources and the growing concern for the environmental protection, the ministers acknowledged the necessity of cooperation and coordination of efforts, for research, development and utilization of new and renewable energy resources.

The ministers agreed that the marketing of primary energy commodities constitute an important field for the strengthening of economic cooperation and development of trade relations among the Balkan countries.

They underlined the significance of creating and developing the relevant energy infrastructure in each Balkan country for the increase of cooperation and the rational exploitation of the energy resources and systems.

The ministers agreed that the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania inform the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe on the results of this meeting.

The ministers expressed their appraisal that such meetings serve the further promotion of Balkan cooperation in the field of energy. To this end, it was agreed to propose to their governments that the meetings of the energy ministers of the Balkan countries be held periodically on a rotation basis. The next meeting will be held in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1992.

The meeting proceeded in a friendly and constructive atmosphere. The ministers expressed their appreciation for the excellent organization of the meeting as well as for the warm hospitality extended to them by the Albanian Government.

Election Rallies Held in Sofia 7 Jun

AU0806083590 Sofia BTA in English 2049 GMT
7 Jun 90

["Sofia Divided Into 'East' and 'West'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—Two impressive rallies held at one and the same time tonight divided Sofia into "east" and "west," into blue and red.

At least one million people participated in the last pre-election rallies of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] on squares situated less than one kilometer from one another. Fearing possible clashes, the security forces organized a buffer neutral zone between the two rallies in the very centre of the capital city, where mothers with perambulators walked. The transport in the city centre was stopped for 12 hours.

BTA reporters report from the two rallies:

"For the first time in its modern history Bulgaria has the chance to decide alone her fate," Zhelyu Zhelev, the leader of the SDS said at the impressive SDS rally.

One of the largest boulevards, from the centre to the outskirts of the city, was full of people in blue, the colour of the opposition. They spent together more than 5 hours and met on 5 stages SDS candidates for M.P.'s and listened to songs of Bulgarian and U.S. pop stars.

Not a single great power is against Bulgaria's zeal for democracy. It will be a catastrophe if we leave power in the hands of the Communist Party. For Europe and for the world this will mean that we have not grown to democracy. Zhelyu Zhelev said that it will be decided at these elections whether Bulgaria will start along the way to democracy or she will remain smothered in the embrace of totalitarianism. Zhelev's speech contained an appeal to all to vote for the SDS, the force which is not burdened with the sins of the past, which is acknowledged by the outer world and has a clear programme about the future.

"The opposition dignity is in non-violence," he said and appealed for tolerance.

"You must know that the whole world now is watching Bulgaria's birth for democracy," said Dr. Khristo Popov, one of the foreign observers, who were present at the rally. This was what the other guests said, too.

The Polish film director A. Wajda and Lech Walesa's personal representative Maciej Jankowski were welcomed with cheers. Wajda said that this is the largest rally which he has seen. "Free and democratic Poland is with you," stressed Jankowski. You must only win the elections and do away with the totalitarian system. Your victory is our victory." His words were greeted with approval.

The greeting of the French Socialist Party, the Party of President Francois Mitterrand "which supports the democratic oppositions in Eastern Europe," was read at the rally.

The address of U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy contained concern that power exerts pressure on the oppositional candidates and their supporters and appealed to the government to give guarantees for fair elections.

The rally ended with a tape of the great Bulgarian bass-singer Boris Khristov of "For many years," a religious hymn sung at Easter and at significant holidays. The people wanted that the boulevard on which they were will not be called "Lenin" any longer but "Svoboda" (freedom).

For the first time in its 100-year history the BSP has more than one million members as a result of the new members which have been admitted since November 10, 1989, says Aleksandur Lilov, the party leader. He spoke at the final pre-election BSP rally.

According to him the measures of socialists for the party renewal and its turning into a modern left is the main reason for the BSP's growing influence.

The sickle and the hammer lacked for the first time on the numerous red flags, a traditional decoration of the central "Deveti Septemvri" Square during socialists' rallies. This symbol, on its part, which remained in the past gave way to the BSP rose.

We opened the door to democracy in Bulgaria on November 10, Lilov said. He expressed the socialists' determination for a peaceful transition towards a humane and democratic society and conviction that "the forthcoming elections will confirm the BSP role as the most powerful political force in the country."

The BSP leader accused the opposition of a negative approach and the preparation of a "new political revenge." He called on the SDS to sign the agreement for peaceful approach to democracy, proposed by President Mladenov, and confirmed the BSP position about the need to form a broadly-represented coalition government, irrespective of the results at the elections.

The government, in cooperation with the Central Electoral Commission and a few social organizations for fair elections, will continue to make everything within its power to ensure a calm and free expression of the will of the Bulgarian people, as Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov said.

He spoke about the government measures to stabilize and liberalize the economy with radical reforms combined with an anti-crisis programme for protection of the socially weak layers. Lukanov on his part also accused the opposition in attempts to deteriorate the economic situation and increase the social tensions. The prime minister characterized as inadmissible the interference of foreign factors in the pre-election campaign. He spoke at the rally immediately upon his return from the Political Consultative Committee meeting of the

Warsaw Treaty member states in Moscow and expressed conviction that Bulgaria's membership in the Warsaw Treaty will continue to be a priority guarantee for the country's national security, territorial integrity and sovereignty in view of its specific geo-political situation.

"Victory," "Unity" and "Bulgaria" were the major slogans at the socialists' rally.

Electoral Commission Disagrees With U.S. State

*AU0706142290 Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—The Central Electoral Commission disagrees with the assessment of the commission's work, contained in the opinion of Ms Margaret Tutwiler, spokeswoman for the U.S. Department of State.

The Central Electoral Commission believes that Ms Margaret Tutwiler's view results from inaccurate information, says a statement of the commission's Secretary, Mr Dimitur Popov, which was circulated here.

The Central Electoral Commission recalls that it is a neutral body comprising representatives of the leading political forces in this country and independents. It makes its decisions democratically and always puts them to the vote. Until the end of the election campaign the commission will persevere in doing everything necessary for the conduct of legitimate, fair, free and democratic elections guaranteeing the validity of the election results.

The commission had devoted particular attention and efforts to the updating and correcting of the electoral registers and to the inclusion of representatives of the leading political forces in the electoral commissions.

The commission has considered all requests and complaints, has issued rulings on them and had given instant instructions in connection with them.

The Central Electoral Commission reiterates before the Bulgarian people and the international community that it is doing everything within its competence for the conduct of legitimate, fair, democratic and free elections. The poll and the vote count arrangements rule out the possibility of manipulating and rigging of the results. The voters will be able to exercise franchise freely and without interference, following the dictates of their own conviction.

In the same connection, Professor Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, has sent a letter to Mr. Sol Polansky, the U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria.

Electoral Commission Meets Parties' Leaders

*AU0706163290 Sofia BTA in English 1417 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—The Central Electoral Commission today had its work approved by the leading political forces in the country: the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party

(BSP), the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS).

The commission today met with Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, with Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the SDS, and with Mr Viktor Vulkov, leader of the BZNS.

The three leaders expressed satisfaction with the work of the commission so far and their confidence in it. They stressed that they will comply with its decisions.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Dr Zhelyu Zhelev and Mr Viktor Vulkov agreed with the assessment of the commission chairman, Prof. Zhivko Stalev, that the election campaign is held in their parties for civilized and tolerant conduct of the campaign. [sentence as received]

Journalists Accredited to Electoral Press Center

*AU0706141590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Jun 90 p 2*

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "270 Journalists Are Already Accredited For Observing the Elections"]

[Text] Sofia, 5 June—Over 270 press cards have already been issued for Bulgarian and foreign journalists. More than 1,000 representatives of the media are expected to report on the elections. Approximately 300 guests, who are expected to observe our free, parliamentary elections, have also been registered.

The press center of the Central Electoral Commission representing the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union opened on the fifth floor of the People's Palace of Culture. All other parties and coalitions participating in the election campaign are entitled to disseminate their materials through the press center.

On election day the journalists have access to the local constituencies and polling stations. The final results of the majority of constituencies are expected to be announced on 11 June at 2300. Aleksandur Lilov, Zhelyu Zhelev, and Viktor Vulkov have been invited to comment on the Bulgarian voters' expressed preferences to date.

The press center is expected to operate until the closing of the second election round, at which point we will already know the names of the Grand National Assembly deputies.

'Rigorous Action' Against Voting Manipulation

*AU0706182590 Sofia BTA in English 1756 GMT
7 Jun 90*

["Vote Rigging Deterrence"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—Mr Yordan Ormankov, spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, reaffirmed the readiness of the law-enforcement authorities to take rigorous action within the law against all attempts to breach the peace at the end of the election run up.

Mr Ormankov read a letter from the National Service for Protection of the Constitution to the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission revealing the intentions of certain persons to raise obstacles to the normal and legitimate conduct of the elections. The service has information that they might use invisible ink to cross out names on ballot papers, may mix majority- decision ballot papers from different polling districts but of the same color so as to make them invalid. Ballot papers made abroad and changing their color in several hours' time may be smuggled into the polling booths. Deliberate electric power cuts may be expected during the vote counts so as to replace part of the ballots or the contents of entire ballot boxes. Riots may be deliberately stirred at the polling stations. The election results may be doctored by technical means, including computer viruses.

Mr Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission, said that the eligible voters number 6,700,000. Nearly 12,000 guests will monitor the regularity of the electoral procedures. The election results will be processed by three independent teams with computers and manually by a fourth team of mathematicians.

Fifty-nine states have agreed that Bulgarian citizens cast their ballots on their territory. According to the latest information, the total number of Bulgarians who will vote abroad is 55,245.

FRG Company Not Allowed To Predict Results

AU0706173090 Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT
7 Jun 90

["INFAS Will Not Make Forecasts on Election in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—INFAS, the FRG company for public opinion enquiry will not make forecasts about the results of elections in Bulgaria as it did in the GDR and Romania.

The Central Electoral Commission adopted this decision relying on an article of the election law which prohibits carrying of any sort of enquiries whatsoever 8 days before holding of elections so as not to manipulate the electors.

The issue about INFAS services was raised today at the commission meeting with leaders of the three major political forces in the country: the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union].

The chairman of the Central Electoral Commission Prof. Zhivko Stalev explained that such kind of prognosis would confuse electors who are participating in free multi-party elections for the first time in 44 years.

Petko Simeonov, chairman of the Central Electoral Club of the oppositional SDS spoke against the INFAS enquiry and circulated today in this relation a letter to

the president, to the National Assembly chairman, to the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission and the mass media.

After announcing about the agreement for carrying of a sociological enquiry on the day of elections concluded between the Bulgarian National Television and the National Center for Public Opinion Enquiry in which INFAS participates, Petko Simeonov says that this is "a gross violation of the Election Law and international practice."

He estimates this enquiry "as yet another attempt to manipulate the Bulgarian public in the very day of elections."

"If such kind of sociological enquiry is carried on this day the SDS puts under question its participation in the elections," the letter reads.

The representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party did not agree that such enquiry can be regarded as manipulation of public opinion but in the name of common concord joined the commission resolution.

Opposition Said To Receive 'Illegal' Foreign Aid

AU0706120090 Sofia BTA in English 1005 GMT
7 Jun 90

["Charges Against SDS"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—Today's DUMA has brought out a letter in which the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is accused of receiving unlawful aid and parcels from abroad. It is said in the letter that the Embassy of the United States has given up free of charge a shipment of electronic equipment to the Podkrepa Confederation of Labour (which is a collective member of the SDS). According to the political parties law the confederation is not allowed to receive grants from other states and foreign organizations. The law permits grants of technical equipment if they are made only by foreign juridical persons for an ideal purpose.

The author writes that the SDS has received other parcels from abroad, including election campaign materials.

ASO Leaders Clarify Plans, Relations With BSP

AU0706185690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] The status of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO]—a faction within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—will be resolved after the elections, probably at a national conference. This was pointed out at a news conference today in which Prof Ivan Nikolov, cochairman of ASO and candidates for people's deputies took part.

ASO thinks that an eventual election victory of the BSP would negatively affect the processes of renewal within

the party. ASO adheres to the idea of democratic socialism as a really existing tendency in modern civilization.

The representatives of ASO firmly believe that the people must vote for capable and respected figures, rather than on the basis of the formal approach of party affiliation.

The question to whom will ASO contribute its votes in the second round of the elections will be resolved locally, in accordance with the qualities of the two leading candidates in the respective constituencies.

The participants in the news conference again expressed their concern with the simultaneous rallies of the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces, and described them as superfluous political demonstrations.

Political Parties Declare Property

AU0706125390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
1 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Political Parties' Property"]

[Text] According to the Law on Political Parties, all parties are expected to submit reports on their revenues and expenditures in 1989 no later than within 14 days prior to the elections.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council published the relevant data in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No. 43 on 29 May 1990.

According to the aforementioned data, the BSP's total revenue amounted to 230,705,000 leva in 1989, while its expenditures amounted to 180,294,000 over the same period.

In 1989 the total number of employees on the party's payroll amounted to 13,956 people, while by 31 March 1990 this number was reduced by 25 percent. The number of employees in the central party organs was reduced by 54.2 percent over the same period. The expenditures in nonsocialist foreign currency amounted to 1.3 million leva in 1989. The account deposited by the BSP at the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank amounted to approximately 800,000 currency leva on 31 March 1990.

The revenues and expenditures of the other two major political forces in our country were announced on Bulgarian Television last night.

According to the data, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union relies on basic resources amounting to 7,843,130 leva. Its revenues amounted to 9,447,730 leva in 1989, while the party's expenditures amounted to 6,938,350 leva over the same period.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] reported a total amount of 1,945,000 leva as its basic resources, 556,000 of which are represented by credits granted by the state for the purchase of motor vehicles. The rest of the SDS's resources include the value of equipment and

appliances provided by private Bulgarian citizens and international non-governmental organizations. The present resources of the SDS amount to 144,000 leva.

Foreign Affairs Ministry Gives Details on Camps

AU0706171490 Sofia BTA in English 1616 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—The Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced today some details about the enquiry of the crime in the labor camps in the cities of Lovech and Skravena and in other places in the spring of 1944 till April 1962. According to some documents in the archives of the Ministry of Interior 23 531 people have passed through those camps of which 14 647 for political reasons. It was established that 300 people have died in the camps from natural or forcible death.

This announcement of the Ministry of Interior [name of ministry as received] refutes the SDS (Union of Democratic Forces) statements made for WASHINGTON POST 20,000 people have been killed in these camps.

"We don't know where the leaders of the SDS have this information from but as a result of a three-month activity of the social and state commission for promotion of the enquiry of the crimes in the camps, it was established that about 300 people have died in the camps," the announcement reads.

It was said that leaders of the commission in which there are representatives of the SDS will announce in the near future details at a press conference.

SDS Sets Out Conditions for Signing Agreement

AU0706111990 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
27 May 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Has Georgi Spasov Signed the Proposed Agreement?"]

[Text] The ruling party (or, to put it more precisely: the party elite) has resorted to innumerable manipulations, falsifications, lies, and insinuations in order to preserve its power. This is natural, considering the incredibly short time the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has left to change its wolf's clothing...and turn into a meek lamb.

One of the greatest propaganda commotions was raised after the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] refused to sign the proposed agreement submitted by President of the Republic Petur Mladenov on nonviolence, observance of the law, and citizens' rights.

The SDS Coordination Council discussed the proposed agreement seriously and entrusted its representative, Georgi Spasov, with conducting the preliminary negotiations. The Coordination Council examined the preliminary text and approved it. As a result, Georgi Spasov entered the following remark in the upper corner of the first page of the proposed agreement: "We agree with the text! 4 May 1990," adding his signature.

This, however, does not mean that we have formally signed the document, as the head of state tried to convince us at the signing ceremony broadcast on television, and as the DUMA editors and some other BSP fellow-travelers are trying to suggest. The aforementioned remark and signature just indicated our serious approach to the problem and our readiness to accept constructive solutions.

In the meantime, the political situation has deteriorated. Violations of the agreements signed at the last national roundtable session have become more frequent, instead of diminishing. This is precisely the reason why the SDS Coordination Council held a special meeting the same day the nonviolence agreement was expected to be signed. The SDS Coordination Council decided not to sign the agreement. It submitted proposals for corrections and amendments to the text, which will involve specific commitments on the part of the BSP, which, as ruling party, is the only one capable of an attempt to preserve or seize power by force. They also include the condition that the BSP (together with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union) assume the obligation to eliminate the privileges of its members. Other basic requirements of the SDS are the following: The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense should collect the distributed weapons within no less than seven days. In addition, we insist that the agreement also be signed by Generals Semerdzhiev and Dzheurov—ministers of internal affairs and national defense, respectively—who are among the most zealous agitators at the election campaign rallies of the BSP (formerly Bulgarian Communist Party).

Independent Public Council Appeals for Nonviolence

AU0706194390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
6 Jun 90 p 2

[BTA report: "Appeal For Timely Information"]

[Text] The Independent Public Council on Banning Violence From Political and Public Life in our country appealed to all newspapers, to the Bulgarian Television, and Radio, to abstain from disseminating reports, articles, and commentaries based on incomplete, inaccurate, and insufficiently researched facts as such acts are likely to increase the degree of tension in our society.

The council appeals to the prosecutors' offices and investigation departments in the country, insisting that they should provide exhaustive and reliable information on all incidents of assault against individual citizens, regardless of their party affiliation and political views, so as to halt all attempts of deliberate and ill-intentioned manipulation of public opinion aimed at obtaining one-sided political advantages for this or that party.

More Chlorine Emissions Reported From Ruse

AU0706162790 Sofia BTA in English 1413 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Ruse, June 7 (BTA)—The latest chlorine emission from the chemical works in Giurgiu, Romania, was recorded in Ruse today.

The analysis of air samples taken at five different points showed that in four of a total of 36 measurements taken between 6:00 and 10:50 hrs, the content of chlorine ions was one to 2.9 times above the maximum permissible limits. Nitrogen dioxide in a concentration exceeding the normal levels one to 1.55 times was found in five of the samples.

The worst affected areas are the most densely populated parts of the city. Once again the emission came in a windless weather.

Ruse Mayor Visits Giurgiu To Discuss Pollution

AU0706191790 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, June 7 (BTA)—The competent Romanian bodies have ordered the taking of strict measures to stop any environmental pollution, reads a declaration of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, released today.

The document reads that according to information by the Ministry of Forestry, Water and the Environment the production of chlorine at the Giurgiu chemical works was suspended in July, 1988. The chlorine levels measuring devices in Giurgiu have not of late noticed chlorine ions levels above the permissible ones. The monitoring bulletins are at the disposal of those interested. The works chlorine depot situated 4 km. North of the Danube is seismically safe and has protection systems in case of breakdowns.

Ruse, June 7 (BTA)—The continuing chlorine gas poisoning of Ruse and mounting local discontent prompted a visit of a delegation led by Ruse Mayor Mr Georgi Dragoev to visit Giurgiu. The delegation insistently placed the acute ecological problem, whose settlement is urgent before the mayor of Giurgiu. He said he would not feel calm until the problem was resolved.

The leaders of the Giurgiu chemical works who attended the meeting assured the Bulgarian delegation that a thorough check of the epichloridine producing installation would be carried out soon. This will register possible violations. The Romanian Petrochemical Industry Ministry is conducting negotiations with leading world companies on the delivery of efficient cleansing installations, to guarantee air cleanliness in the area.

International Ecological Consortium Formed in Varna

AU0706094090 Sofia BTA in English 2115 GMT
6 Jun 90

[Text] Varna, June 6 (BTA)—The "Eco" Consortium was established here on an initiative of the International Club of Ecological Culture.

The consortium will involve Prof. Andre Pavia, director of the Securitec EC Euroclub, and Prof. Dr. Ivan Sekulov, director of the Water Institute in Hamburg, FRG.

Three priority projects were adopted: ecology and human health, ecoproblems of the Danube and the Black Sea and ecoagriculture.

Commentary Approves Lukanov Activities in SFRY

AU0706085290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
3 Jun 90 p 6

[Krasimir Ivandzhiyski commentary: "The Balkan 'Cycle' Is a Necessary Prerequisite On the Way To Europe"]

[Text] Is the emphasis placed on Balkan relations, or is this part of our government's strategy in joining the all-European economic home?

The question legitimately emerges in considering our Premier Lukanov's most recent visit abroad, which conducted him to Nis and to his talks with Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Committee. The answer is positive in both cases. The two aforementioned questions are interrelated. We should add at once that all this is done under the considerable pressure of time and of political circumstances, under which our government is acting, yet with a sense of responsibility a pragmatic approach, and with a high degree of competence of the government team and its leader, which were even pointed out by THE WASHINGTON POST and the DAILY TELEGRAPH as remarkable under the exceptional circumstances.

The interrelation of the two aforementioned questions clearly emerges in reviewing Lukanov's recent meetings. On the one hand, he visited Western Europe—Bonn and Brussels—and conducted numerous negotiations with major institutions, facilitating our access to the EC, to GATT, to the World Bank and the IMF. On the other hand, he purposefully rounded up the Balkan "cycle" by talking to the leaders of Romania, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania. Only one link remains open, namely Turkey. Perhaps the opportunities opened by the democratization process and the radical changes underway in our country may include negotiations with this country in the near future?

As a matter of fact, the obstacles to the good-neighborly dialogue should be diminishing and be in direct proportion to the opportunities of eliminating them. It is true that not even one problem, including the most crucial one, namely the Macedonian question, was omitted in

the Lukanov-Markovic dialogue. The discussion proceeded in a sincere and open-minded atmosphere. In diplomatic terminology, however, this does not mean either unanimity, or agreement. However, the effort made to clarify each other's stands is undoubtedly important, and likely to encourage a further development of relations. This is so, because not only the diversity in foreign policy relations, but also economic cooperation begins with our neighbors. The road to Europe and toward our long-term interests, which have nothing in common with "simplified economic ideologies," also depend on our neighbors. This road is even more complicated against the background of our considerable foreign debt, the inflation trends, and the insufficient opportunities of adjustment, the intensifying social stratification, the requirement of breaking up the "iron-strong" economic traditions of the past, and the establishment of mechanisms for convertible currency... It is unnecessary to go on. We all know our real situation. We also know that our emergence from the profound crisis and the transition to the establishment of an infrastructure for the correct functioning of a free market economy should proceed systematically and perseveringly, and be promoted at an accelerated pace.

This aspect of good-neighborly relations plays an extremely important role.

DUMA Reports Threatened 'Brain Drain'

AU0706094490 Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT
7 Jun 90

["Brain Drain"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 7 (BTA)—In the first three months of this year 41,955 university graduates received foreign passports. More than 6,000 of them are degree-holders. These data, released by the Foreign Passports Department of the Ministry of the Interior, are published in today's DUMA. Last year, based on the results obtained from a sociological enquiry, the Institute of Sociology with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences came to the conclusion that in the conditions of a facilitated passport regime the Bulgarian specialists and research workers are potentially inclined to emigrate abroad. According to the sociologists the scientists at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences are in the risk group of potential emigrants, most of them being orientated to the countries in Western Europe. By the beginning of May this year 19 of the 15,000 specialists working at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences have applied, at their own initiative, for jobs abroad.

The reasons which make the brain workers seek self-fulfilment abroad are different. The sociological enquiries show that the Bulgarian research workers are displeased with the conditions offered to them at the institutes and laboratories they work for, with the lack of sufficient scientific literature and materials, with the lack of real interest in their work on the part of society. Some lower-qualification categories are still better paid than the specialists who have higher education.

Yesterday 1,500 university teachers, scientific workers and employees of the Higher Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia demanded an increase of 50 per cent for all salaries at the institute. As this problem have been under consideration since March this year but there have not been any result yet, they went on a two-week symbolic strike. Another four higher education establishments in Sofia and Plovdiv have joined the strike. Similar strikes are expected. According to Academician Asen Khadzhiolov, minister of science and higher education, ways should be sought to stop the "brain drain" of the country. For a long time it has been the practice to send Bulgarian scientists to specialize or work in some leading scientific centres in different countries. For some months now the possibility has been discussed of allowing the Bulgarian specialists who want to work abroad to conclude contracts with Bulgarian scientific organizations which would keep their jobs reserved for them for a certain period of time. A number of agreements have been concluded on sending students and research workers to France, the United States and other West European countries.

Washington Summit Evidence of Improving Relations

AL0706205090 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 6 Jun 90 p. 1

[Vasil Dzherekarov commentary: "Both Today and in the Future"]

[Text] The latest meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush provides further evidence of the intensive development of Soviet-U.S. relations. They have already left the old East-West track of tolerable or increasing confrontation, of temporary emergence from the castle walls of the military blocs. Formally speaking, the dialogue is being conducted between the two superpowers, but in fact all the civilized states and public forces are taking part, because it relates to new ideas and is a serious attempt to implement them in an overall renewal of international relations.

We only have to take a brief look at what the latest meeting achieved: a radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons and chemical combat weapons, whose arsenals harbor death for mankind; and a place for a united Germany in the Europe of tomorrow. It is true that differences remain on the latter issue, but the resolve was expressed to continue to seek a solution. This is because the place of a united Germany and its peaceful intentions cannot be based on well-intentioned declarations or assurances that, by remaining in the bosom of NATO, the FRG becomes an even stronger element in European security. To speak frankly, such hopes are not devoid of the search for advantage. Since the military

blocs were created to serve the "cold war" and the dangerous confrontation, which was expressed in the greatest amassing of troops and weapons of destruction in the very center of the continent, they can no longer serve as means for constructing the dreamed-of European home.

We can well understand the haste with which German unification is being sought in the present European situation. However, no other proof can be provided of the good intentions with which unification is being sought not only within Europe, but also outside, unless respect is paid to the fears and the guarantees being sought for those peoples who felt the German jackboot during World War II, and this was true for practically the whole of Europe.

I attentively followed the Washington meeting on Soviet television. Both our own and the world press devoted intermittent, if not to say condescending, attention to it. Overcome by the election campaign fever, do we really think that we are now the world's navel, and do we have the impression that the whole world is watching our show? It is true that it will be a big show, and I do not want to voice my own opinion here. This I will do on 10 June, as very many others certainly will, and in such a way as to provide a guarantee that we will slough off the skin of the confusing passions and become meeker, so that we too will see the light of day.

However, let us return to the Soviet-U.S. talks, which also contained an element of drama. Has not restructuring produced more visible results in international relations than within the country which gave birth to it? Surely, behind what Gorbachev proposed and signed stands Soviet society, which is feverishly and dramatically seeking as yet undiscovered roads toward revival and humanitarianism. Such interpretations were made of Gorbachev's persistent attempts to explain to America and the entire world the whole complexity of the processes which the vast country is experiencing. There is no place here for *schadenfreude*, which is an expression of a primitive attitude, which itself would present no danger if it did not relate to matters of fateful importance. The Soviet Union of yesterday was prepared for clashes. For decades on end its politicians assessed their relations with other states with the yardstick of big guns. What will emerge from the seething ferment which has engulfed the Soviet Union? We see the first results, namely the humanization of international life and the beginning of true cooperation between the two states, which provide the surest guarantees for mankind's survival. The latter cannot be realized in visible form without the Soviet Union, which is now renewing itself. In this sense, the restructuring and its positive development and establishment is a crucial element in the positive development in the field of international relations.

Havel, Delegation News Conference on Pact Summit

LD0706221890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1647 GMT 7 Jun 90

[News conference with President Vaclav Havel and the delegation to the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Conference in Moscow upon return to Prague at Ruzyně Airport—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We are reporting this from the old Ruzyně airport. President of the Republic Vaclav Havel, Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Press Spokesman Michal Zantovsky, and others have just arrived. A news conference on the Political Consultative Committee meeting of the Warsaw Pact in Moscow, from which they have just returned, is just starting.

[Unidentified moderator] Mr. President will now read a short statement.

[Havel] I am to read a short statement but I do not know if it will be long or not. If so, please start to protest. Czechoslovak peaceful initiatives which the government of the national reconciliation have been promoting since it took over have been explained many times. For example in my speech to the U.S. Congress, to Strasbourg, to the Council of Europe; and a part of these initiatives includes the idea of the necessary transformation of the Warsaw Pact. In its current form the Warsaw Pact is a heritage of Stalinism, in which the armies of Central and Eastern Europe are basically subordinated to the Soviet Army. In the event of a war two thirds of the Czechoslovak Army would be under Soviet command. This entire structure is actually an expression of the past and it was clear from the beginning that something important must change, that the Warsaw Pact can play a certain role for a transitory period but that it must be quite a different role, supported by quite a different structure.

We have believed from the beginning that it makes no sense to leave the Warsaw Pact. By leaving the Warsaw Pact we would lose any influence on its future destiny. Such a unilateral departure would create a sort of illusory, unreal neutrality, and we believe that Czechoslovakia can be neutral only when the entire Europe will be—in quotation marks—neutral. On the contrary we believe it is necessary to stay in the Warsaw Pact and to radically change it from within. Therefore we never considered a withdrawal, and the idea of the unilateral neutrality of Czechoslovakia or the unilateral departure of Czechoslovakia from the Warsaw Pact can be—at most—a demagogical argument or can be used in an election campaign, but it represents nothing realistic. Therefore when we were sent a preliminary confidential request on whether it would suit us to go to the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact at this time, we immediately answered yes. We did have sufficient reasons to ask for a different time, however, as this meeting was taking place on the eve of

our country's first free elections in 54 [as heard] years. Nevertheless, we found it so important to take part in this meeting as soon as possible and to participate in the radical transformation of the Warsaw Pact, that we agreed to this date.

We tried to be well-prepared for this meeting. There was a draft of a colorless neutral communique saying nothing; if adopted it would have been that it was a sort of formal meeting out of inertia. [sentence as heard] It was clear to us that if this meeting was to take place in this quite new situation arising in Europe now—when the majority of member countries of the Warsaw Pact or, to put it better, all of them, have started on the path of democracy and experienced their own revolution in various forms—that in this time it is impossible to continue only out of inertia. It seemed to us that, on the contrary, it was necessary to give this meeting a new meaning and a new content.

This is why the end of last week we drafted our own proposal of the declaration which should be adopted at this meeting and which outlined a kind of plan for the Warsaw Pact transformation and a timetable for its implementation. We gave our proposal immediately to the member countries, which began to discuss it and work on it intensively; they started adding to it and made their own observations. Other events took place simultaneously, for example Premier Mazowiecki's plan—his proposal which is generally known—plus the Czechoslovak initiative to create a commission for security cooperation in Europe as an institution of the Helsinki process. At the same time these two initiatives merged into one initiative, which was signed on the eve of this Warsaw Pact meeting by the participating countries: the German Democratic Republic, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. I mention this because it is linked with the concept of the Warsaw Pact transformation.

In my view, the most important thing in our proposal was the thought that the Warsaw Pact should serve for a certain transition period as an instrument of disarmament talks, as a partner of the North Atlantic Alliance in these talks, that its political role should be strengthened and its military structure—the structure of subordination of the member armies to the Soviet Army, or to be more precise to the Warsaw Pact Allied Command—should be weakened or altogether abolished.

The second important thing contained in our proposal was the said timetable specifying that the commission of government representatives would draw up by the end of October a precise plan for this transformation and this Political Consultative Committee, the habit of which is to meet only once a year and which would in this special situation meet for a second time, will meet again before the end of November, when it would approve that which will be drafted by the government representatives. The purpose of this kind of (a proposed) timetable was to synchronize it with the Helsinki process because, as you know, a summit meeting of countries participating in the Helsinki process should be held in Paris the end of

December. It seemed to us that it would be a good thing if the Warsaw Pact countries brought something new, this important contribution to this summit, because by this they would create another prerequisite for all which is in our thoughts—the creation of a new security system in Europe, which will evolve from the Helsinki process, a system into which the two existing alliances would in some way merge and fit—each of them in a different way thanks to the symmetrical nature of the situation.

Immediately after our arrival in Moscow, guided by the proposals of other member states, we intensively worked on our original proposal, we re-edited it again and afterward we handed it to experts at the level of deputy foreign ministers who worked on it throughout the night. It was not simple work, it was a fight for each word.

Meanwhile, our delegation was engaged in various bilateral talks. We held talks with the Polish delegation: Mr. Jaruzelski, Mr. Mazowiecki. We also met with Mr. de Maiziere, GDR prime minister, and Mr. Goncz, Hungarian president.

The group which worked on the final version of the declaration worked throughout the night and in fact till midday today. Czechoslovakia was represented by Mr. Matejka, deputy minister of foreign affairs. He also now assumes the post of general secretary of the Warsaw Pact, as it is now Czechoslovakia's turn. The next meeting, if it is going to be the November one, is to take place in Prague. This means we are the host country; a citizen of the host country is always general secretary of the entire Warsaw alliance.

Now I should try to say what I want as quickly as possible because it was said that my introduction would be short.

Now perhaps about the course of today's session in general: It began at 0930 and lasted until 1100. President Gorbachev delivered an extensive report about the Soviet Union's stances, the general situation in Europe, the future of the Warsaw Pact, and above all he spoke about his talks with President Bush in Washington. After 1100 I took the floor by virtue of the fact that Czechoslovakia will be the next host country. In my speech I delivered some other specific proposals—the proposals which the government commissioners should consider and use in their proposal for a new structure, function, mission, and concept of the Warsaw Pact.

From the proposals I delivered, the one which perhaps deserves attention is that the staff of the joint command of the Joint Armed Forces should become a coordinating group of the Warsaw Pact—a civilian and military component with few personnel. It would be a consultative coordinating body which would be in charge of preparing in some way the meetings of the Political Consultative Committee and Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, but which would not have the character of the joint command. Another issue was the renaming of the Committee of the Minister of Defense of the Warsaw Pact or Warsaw Treaty to the Military

Committee which would be composed of the commanders in chief of General Staffs or deputy ministers of national defense and would be subordinated to the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

I went on to repeat briefly in my speech the principled proposals of the German-Polish-Czechoslovak joint initiative which is aimed at some kind of institutionalization of the Helsinki process, which is aimed at making the Helsinki process grow into something more than it has been so far, at becoming a system of not only joint recommendations to governments but a system of contractual obligations, becoming the platform on which a new security system is built which could in some ways guarantee the security of a Europe undergoing a process of political integration.

Therefore, I presented a certain shortened report about this very fresh joint initiative of the three Warsaw Pact countries. At the same time I proposed a date before 15 July for the first meeting in Prague of the commission which is to prepare the new concept of the Warsaw Pact by the end of October and to be put forward to the Political Consultative Committee for approval.

After my speech I could even read here a part of the joint initiative but in my view if you are interested in it then it is a question more suitable for our minister of foreign affairs who was one of the authors of this initiative; and of course it was also he who signed it on behalf of Czechoslovakia on the eve of the Moscow meeting.

After my speech, all the delegation leaders at the meeting spoke in turn. They made speeches in which, basically, all of them—although each in a slightly different way and with different emphases—supported the basic idea of setting up a new security system in Europe as the guarantee of a politically more integrated Europe, and there were some nuances when individual speeches—perhaps I could cite the Hungarian speech—stressed the problem of ethnic minorities, and in the Polish speech the stress was placed on guaranteeing the borders, especially the Polish-German border. So there were certain nuances, but in essence all the member countries supported the basic idea, philosophy, or concept of the future Europe and primarily the (basis) of its security system which would guarantee its united future.

In the afternoon, after a lunch at which appropriate toasts were pronounced, the meeting continued, and it wound up with the adoption of the declaration which you are probably aware of and which has been distributed to you; it is the main and pivotal result of this meeting. Perhaps I should say that like any document that is drawn up as the work of many people, many parties, many groups—any collective document of this kind is always a little sensitive [otlivy]. This is the experience we know from the work of Charter 77—that when something is written by one person, it has its own style, its own particular stamp, whereas when something is written by a lot of people together, then the characteristic sharp edges tend to be

smoothed out, and a kind of text emerges which, although it expresses a general consensus, is also at first sight more amorphous [amorfnejsi].

So this joint declaration, in its final version, is truly the work of all. At first sight, perhaps, it appears a little amorphous, a little indigestible, but the main elements are contained in it, and anyone who can read will be able to read it for themselves.

Let me wind up this short introduction—as I imagine you will have further questions about details—by saying that we all agreed that the meeting was of historic significance, that it was probably the most important meeting in the history of this body, because it provided the stimulus for the Warsaw Pact, as I said myself in my speech there, to cease to exist in the form we know, but without it being dissolved. It will probably continue to exist for a certain time as something different—as a tool for determining the new order in Europe, as a tool for disarmament, and as a kind of instrument for coordinating the integration of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe into Europe as a whole, and to a certain degree as a guarantor of a kind of stability in this troubled part of Europe. At the same time, perhaps I should also emphasize something which is probably obvious and which is stated in the declaration—that in its new transformed state too and particularly in that new state, the Warsaw Pact is, of course, based on the principle of absolute equality of all its participants, there cannot be the slightest element of subordination of one to another; it is based on the principle of the defense of the individual countries. It also gives a new definition to the potential enemy or, more accurately, the danger, it is based on the principle of constitutional approval of any sort of military act and so on, and that is perhaps obvious.

That is all I have to say in this opening report, and if you are interested in any further details, either I or my colleagues in the delegation will answer—probably them, because I have spoken long enough already.

[Moderator] Thank you, Mr. President for your opening report, and because here, one day before the elections, I can see a whole series of unknown faces, let me introduce the participants of the news conference who are here and are otherwise generally well-known in this country. Sitting on my right is Federal Premier Marian Calfa, to the left of the president is Federal Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, to the right of Mr. Calfa is National Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek, to the left of Mr. Dienstbier is Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Zdenek Matejka who, as you have heard, is also the new general secretary of the Warsaw Pact as of today, and as evidence of this high post, he is showing you the seals of the Warsaw Pact.

If I can inject a note of humour at this point—this is the whole power of the Warsaw Pact and its general secretary [laughter] Here, if you please, is one stamp—rubber, and one seal—metal, and this little bag to put them in.

Finally, right at the end of the table on the right hand side is Jiri Krizan, one of the president's advisers. One technical point—please speak up when you ask your questions, because the interpreters cannot hear very well—not in this room anyway. Also, after this long and tiring day, we do not have very much time for questions, so we must restrict ourselves to about a quarter of an hour. Your questions please?

[passage omitted] [Unidentified reporter] What about the bilateral agreements between the individual Warsaw Pact member states—are you also striving to have them cancelled, because if they remain [words indistinct] the existing structure of the Warsaw Pact. My other question is to Defense Minister Mr. Vacek: How many Czechoslovak soldiers are currently studying in the Soviet Union, how many officers?

[Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier] We have replaced the 1970 agreement with the Soviet Union by the declaration signed by Presidents Havel and Gorbachev in Moscow at the beginning of this year. We are reviewing the agreements with the other East European countries, because neither we, the Poles, the Hungarians nor the rest are interested in maintaining the validity of bombastic agreements about eternal friendship which led to nothing. We want to cooperate in very specific ways. We are making long lists—a joint inventory—of the agreements which we are going to cancel, there are so many of them that it is going to take some time before it all happens. We have agreements with all these countries, and some of these agreements have already been cancelled. But there are so many of them that it is going to take all of us some time to sort it all out.

[Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek] The Czechoslovak Army sends officers every year to the Soviet Union for studies—let me say not only to the Soviet Union, because we have reciprocal agreements under which, for example, about 10 officers of the GDR National People's Army study at the Military Academy in Brno, and on the other hand a similar number of our officers study in the GDR. There is also an exchange with the Polish Republic, and we also train some officers of the Hungarian Army. To the Soviet Union, we send officers for short courses, and also for regular and post-graduate education. As for specific figures—at the moment I would put it at around 300 people, but I would like to point out in this context that certain things are essential because the Czechoslovak Army uses our own equipment, but also equipment from the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states. This means that, for example—and this accounts for the majority of the courses—it is essential for our officers to attend these courses in the Soviet Union.

[Reporter] This is Czechoslovak Radio: There is a report that there is to be a meeting this month of the ministers of national defense. What do you intend to [discuss there]? [words indistinct]

[Vacek] It is true that there is going to be a meeting of the committee of ministers in the full line-up. That means the delegation heads will be the ministers of national defense of the different Warsaw Pact states. As for the program—I do not want you to think that I am trying to duck this question—as a result of the deliberations of the Political Consultative Committee, the program will probably be partly amended to discuss some of the issues dealt with today. You will find out more after the meeting of the ministers ends.

[Havel] As for the question addressed to me, we met with Mr. Yeltsin for about an hour this morning over breakfast at our embassy. It was a very interesting and very intensive talk. Mr. Yeltsin explained his ideas on the future status of the Russian Federation, about the system of bilateral agreements which he would like to enter into as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president with the other republics of the Soviet Union, and primarily with the Baltic republics. He spoke about the relationship between the Russian Federation and the Soviet Union or Soviet leadership, and a whole lot of other things. We agreed on the possibility of bilateral agreements between the Russian Federation and the Czechoslovak Republic, and I also invited Mr. Yeltsin to Prague.

[Reporter] Mr. President, can I please ask you if you also spoke about the future role of the GDR and its possible transfer into the NATO pact?

[?Dienstbier] This is a very complicated question, as you know, and we could spend two hours talking about it. Let me restrict myself to saying that most of the Warsaw Pact countries agree to Germany's membership of NATO, its membership in some kind of firm structure, with the proviso of course—and here various options are possible—that this part of Germany will not be occupied by NATO armies, or that Soviet troops will remain there for a certain transitional period, but will gradually withdraw. You know yourselves how many different options there are. Gorbachev and Bush recently discussed some of them at their summit. We cannot go into these now because there is really a wide spectrum of options under discussion today. The important thing is—and all parties agree on this—that Germany should be united in such a way that it does not lead to any destabilization, and that on the other hand the unification of Germany becomes the driving force, the motor for setting up all-European structures and working out a new concept of security in the whole zone from San Francisco to Vladivostok.

[Reporter, in English, fading into Czech translation] A question for the president—my name is (?Corring). I'm with THE GLOBE AND MAIL of Canada—do you think that following this Warsaw Pact meeting there should be reciprocal action by NATO? By that I mean either a statement or a change within NATO.

[Havel] As you know, in (?the summer) there is to be a summit of the North Atlantic alliance to discuss changes in its doctrine. It seems to me that what we have done

and what NATO is preparing to do is in some sort of balance. Of course the faster we progress and the further we go, the further we can expect NATO to go too.

[Reporter, in English, fading into Czech translation] I am (?Chita Green), United Press. Mr. President, was there an agreement between you, Doctor Bartoncik and Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml that Dr. Bartoncik has done something wrong, and can you tell us something about Mr. Bartoncik's state of health at the time you met him?

[Havel] I did not make any kind of official agreement. On this issue, which really does not interest me very much, I would make one comment: I have known Federal Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml for many years as a man who is utterly unbiased, objective, incorruptible, honest and decent, whose attitudes and work are guided solely by his conscience and by the facts.

[?Press spokesman Michael Zantovsky] It is time to end, so we will give the last question, as always, to a lady, yes please?

[Reporter in English, fading into Czech translation] My question is to Mr. Havel: What is Czechoslovakia's economic future going to be, its economic system? Will it be a mixed system, a capitalist system—if these words have any meaning at all any more, I don't know—and do you intend to join the European Community and if so, what is your timeframe?

[Havel] As for our economic future, Czechoslovakia wants to be a state with a prospering economy, that means an economy based on a market mechanism. It wants to be a socially just state, if you want to call it communism, socialism or capitalism, that is your job, not ours. If you want specific details or a specific timeframe for economic reform, then I refer you to the policy statement to be made by the government which will emerge from the free elections. I have no doubts that it will contain a clear timeframe for specific steps to revive our economy, or to be more accurate, to build it on the ruins which we have inherited.

[?Zantovsky] Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your attention, and goodnight.

Former CP Official Bilak Released From Custody
*LD0706182190 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Bratislava June 7 (CTK)—The Slovak Prosecutor General's Office today announced that former Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak was released at 15.00 GMT today after 48-hour detention.

According to the prosecutor's office, Vasil Bilak was detained on June 5 in connection with criminal prosecution concerning the entry of Warsaw Treaty troops in Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Interrogation also centered on the circumstances of other property-related criminal offenses, including management with Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee financial means and unjustified use of a special air squadron of the Federal Ministry of the Interior in Prague.

Explanations were given also by other former leading officials of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Slovakia, including Gustav Husak, Milos Jakes, Jozef Lenart, Rudolf Hegenbart and Michal Stefanak.

Investigations Continue

LD0706182390 Prague CTK in English 1721 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June (CTK)—The interrogation of former Czechoslovak Communist Party leader Milos Jakes continued at the Czechoslovak Prosecutor General's office here today. Press Secretary for the Prosecution Ivan Mandalov told CTK.

Jakes was first summoned for interrogation on June 6.

Ivan Mandalov also said that though Vasil Bilak was released earlier today his interrogation in Bratislava in connection with the investigation of the circumstances of the Warsaw Treaty troops' entry into Czechoslovakia in 1968 and other property-related criminal activity continues.

U.S. Congress View of Dienstbier Proposal

LD0806071390 Bratislava Domestic Service
in Slovak 1000 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In our agency service, I noticed a mention of the fact that the proposal by Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, to grant economic assistance to the East European states in their transition to a market economy, which was delivered at Harvard University, has encountered a preliminary rejection in one of the subcommittees of the U.S. Congress. I suppose that most of us already know something about this proposal, and I therefore asked editor Viliam Roth to speak about this unpleasant news.

[Roth] There is no reason for alarm, I believe. U.S. congressmen continue to regard Dienstbier's proposal as remarkable and the only thing they add is that there exist more than enough proposals on how to help East Europe change its economic orientation toward a market economy, and they [the proposals] must therefore be subjected to careful study. [passage omitted]

Those who saw an analogy between this proposal and the well-known postwar Marshall plan, are told by the U.S. congressmen that this analogy is inappropriate. According to one of them, Dienstbier even wanted the United States to grant, against its tradition, credits to the Soviet economy at a time when it is in a state of confusion and inefficient, and when other East European

countries prefer to look up to the Western economy. All I am doing here is providing a merely loose restatement of all of this and of the view of (Richard Bernhard) from the University of Pennsylvania, who gives an outright warning against adopting Dienstbier's plan.

If we were to take an immediate position on this matter, then we could, of course, be more than worried. But the only pressure put on U.S. economic circles by the author of the draft himself, in the course of its delivery in mid-May at Harvard University, was in respect to their helping to bridge the era when the economic problems of East Europe in its transition to a market economy could cause political instability. A stable Europe is, after all, also in the interest of the United States. We heard this in recent days on more than one occasion from a whole range of U.S. politicians, including President Bush. This should therefore be the criteria for assessing any of the multitude of similar proposals, as it is in judging that submitted by the head of Czechoslovak diplomacy.

Moscow's Retention of Invasion Documents Criticized

AU0706124590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
1 Jun 90 p 1

[Jiri Ruml article: "Noninterference"]

[Text] Moscow has announced that it is unwilling to surrender the so-called "letter of invitation" to Czechoslovakia. This letter was allegedly sent by a group of members—who are not expressly named—of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the government, and the National Assembly as a request for military intervention against the counterrevolution in 1968.

As a reason for its decision, the Soviet side states that it does not want to interfere in our internal affairs. This shows a strange respect for international obligations. Such respect has not been seen too much in everyday life before. The history of Central and East Europe (and, of course, elsewhere, for example in Afghanistan) testifies to the opposite. It can be documented by many examples from our recent history: the prohibition on accepting the Marshall Plan, forcing the so-called "steel concept" upon us, the exploitation of uranium ore, an "advisory" service equal to giving orders, approving the highest nomenclature, financial and, mainly, military support for the Third World, a military invasion, the deployment of nuclear weapons, and so on and so on.

Many such interventions made a perfect satellite and slave of malignant policy out of our state. Former governments verbally competed in becoming enthusiastic imitators of the totalitarian regime, including gulags and political murders.

This interference in the rights of a sovereign state has not been made up for yet—the occupying armies have not yet left our territory and what they are leaving behind

only testifies to the fact that their temporary stay is measured in terms of eternity.

Now, all of sudden, they do not want to "interfere," as if they did not know that they are interfering in our internal affair of deciphering the high treason committed with the help of a foreign power.

Or, does such an invitation exist at all? If this is the case, then, the Soviet Union would be assuming the unpleasant role of an aggressor on an international scale.

People's Party Demands Ruml Statement Inquiry

LD0806012790 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak People's Party General Secretary Jiri Cerny today turned to the Prague City Prosecutor's Office to investigate the circumstances of Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml's statement yesterday.

On behalf of the People's Party, Jiri Cerny asked the Prosecutor's Office to investigate whether by his statement that People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik is an unprincipled person who cannot stand for a seat on the Czechoslovak parliament Jan Ruml committed the criminal offences of slander and of frustrating preparations and the course of the June 8-9 parliamentary elections.

The statement made by Jan Ruml harms the reputation of People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik in the society, his employment and in his family as well. Moreover, it damages the reputation of the Czechoslovak People's Party in the forthcoming elections, Jiri Cerny said. The Czechoslovak People's Party considers Jan Ruml's information that Josef Bartoncik is a man without character striving to cover up his past as long as possible to be untrue.

He added that the People's Party had demanded the screening of its candidates standing for the elections. Despite the fact that this demand concerned Josef Bartoncik as well, his name is not on the list of State Security (STB) collaborators which the Federal Ministry of the Interior has conveyed to the Czechoslovak People's Party.

Further Report

LD0806013190 Prague CTK in English 1655 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—"The information which initiated my yesterday's statement did not come out of screening. It was obtained by another state body than the Ministry of the Interior," Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of the Interior Jan Ruml told CTK today on his statement concerning the candidature of parliament's Deputy Chairman Josef Bartoncik.

Answering the question why he published the statement only after the end of the election campaign Jan Ruml said that immediately after having obtained the information he

tried to persuade Mr. Bartoncik of giving up his candidature. "I addressed the public only after having exhausted all other possibilities", Jan Ruml underlined.

CTK Reviews Ruml-Bartoncik Remarks

LD0806013690 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party gave a press conference here today at which they summed up the thus far developments in the affair around the party's chairman, Federal Assembly (parliament) deputy chairman and chairman of its House of the People described yesterday as an unprincipled person not suitable to be deputy to the supreme legislative body.

The party's General Secretary Jiri Cerny said that yesterday, June 6, the party leadership was informed by its member Ludvik Motycka that Czech Prosecutor general Pavel Rychetsky told him there exists material on the basis of which it is necessary for Josef Bartoncik to resign from all his functions and leave political life. This was at a time when the 48-term [as received] in which candidates for deputies can no longer be withdrawn was already in force.

Having assessed this news and not knowing the material in question, this course seemed to us as blackmail, Jiri Cerny said. We only knew that the material contains an interrogation of a member of the former secret police (STB) who was allegedly in contact with Josef Bartoncik.

Immediately after rejection of the allegation and after the party announced that Josef Bartoncik cannot be withdrawn from the list of candidates, the Czechoslovak Television read a statement by Czechoslovak deputy Federal Interior Ministry and director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy according to which J. Bartoncik is an unprincipled man trying to conceal his past until the last moment, Jiri Cerny said. He described the statement as a gross violation of the election law and gross abuse of the post of Czechoslovak deputy interior minister. Jiri Cerny said he wanted to speak on Czechoslovak Television which was not made possible for him. The refusal was explained by the argument that his statement must first be issued by CTK.

Jiri Cerny told the press conference that the name of Josef Bartoncik was on the list of the Czechoslovak People's Party candidates who were screened on its own request. But it did not appear among the names of the persons who cooperated in a way with the former secret police.

The party's general secretary said that the party would want to trust Josef Bartoncik, but at the same time it does not have any possibility to prove that either he is or is not guilty.

Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Bohumil Svoboda said that a complaint against anti-democratic influencing of the elections had been lodged with Council of Europe parliamentary assembly observers to the June 8-9 elections. A copy of the complaint has been sent also to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. A complaint was made at the same time against the Central Election Commission.

Through his representative, Josef Bartoncik has asked Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Chairman Alexander Dubcek to provide him with protection which is due to him as a constitutional official and has turned to Jan Ruml and Pavel Kychetsky to convey to him in the presence of representatives of the party's secretariat by 15.00 GMT today the materials documenting his unprincipled character.

It ensued from the replies of the party's representatives here today that they know nothing about Josef Bartoncik's discussion with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel (in hospital June 6 where he was taken for a heart failure) and that they do not know whether he promised Jan Ruml to withdraw his candidacy as the deputy interior minister claimed.

Representatives of the party also announced an unconfirmed report that the Austrian magazine PROFIL which claimed last month that Josef Bartoncik collaborated with the secret police has published an apology.

Journalists were also told that 18 Czechoslovak People's Party candidates for deputies have been withdrawn.

Parliamentary Elections Called 'Well Prepared'

LD0706214690 Prague CTK in English 1305 GMT
7 Jan 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—Secretary of the Czechoslovak Central Electoral Commission Dusan Hendrych told newsmen here today that the parliamentary elections due to take place in Czechoslovakia on Friday and Saturday are on the whole well prepared.

Representatives of the commission said that more than 200 foreign observers will watch the elections. This number involves the observers' entourage and interpreters. They can enter polling stations and watch the counting of votes.

Journalists were also informed of foreign assistance to Czechoslovakia in connection with the parliamentary elections. The Canadian Government, for instance, supplied Czechoslovakia with envelopes into which electors will put ballots before casting them into ballot boxes.

As regards the election results, the first estimates based on concrete results in electoral regions will be published by means of Czechoslovak Television on Saturday June 9 at 16.00, 17.50 and 20.00 GMT. Still earlier at 12.30 i.e. half an hour after the closure of polling stations all over Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Television will

broadcast the results of an election prognosis that will be worked out on the basis of polls conducted on June 8-9.

A number of questions concerned the affair around Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Josef Bartoncik who was yesterday described by Czechoslovak office for the protection of the constitution and democracy as an unprincipled person trying to the last moment to conceal his past.

Jan Ruml based his statement on the screening of candidates for the seats of deputies on the Czechoslovak Parliament and the Czech and Slovak national councils the aim of which was to find out their possible cooperation with the former State Security Police (STB).

Czechoslovak First Deputy Interior Minister Ivan Prusa, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Government coordinating commission for the June 8-9 parliamentary elections, noted that "Jan Ruml made public an objective finding of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry." Representatives of the central election commission practically rejected the view that Jan Ruml broke the election law or the election campaign, and pointed out that they have not received any information from either the Czechoslovak People's Party or Josef Bartoncik himself that he withdrew his candidature for the Federal Assembly.

It was announced at the press conference that as many as 656 foreign and 300 Czech and Slovak journalists, and 24 television staffs from 19 countries had been accredited for the elections by today.

6 Jun 'Open Platform' Program on Elections

AU0706141390

[Editorial Report] Prague Television service in Czech and Slovak from 1600-1700 GMT on 6 June broadcasts an "Open Platform" discussion program in which a panel of nine "experts" answers viewers' telephoned questions. The questions concern the course, preparation, and technical aspects of the upcoming elections.

The participants are: Ivan Prusa, first deputy interior minister; Dr. Jan Filip from the Masaryk University Faculty of Law; Dr. Zdenek Zahorsky, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission; Dr. Milos Slapak, Czech Electoral Commission registrar; Dr. Frantisek Mader, North Moravia Regional Electoral Commission registrar; Dr. Vaclav Pavliceck, associate dean at Charles University Faculty of Law; Dr. Dusan Hendrych, Central Electoral Commission registrar; Engineer Peter Bercek, Slovak Electoral Commission registrar; and Engineer Jan Fischer, deputy chairman of the Federal Statistical Office.

Some of the questions are addressed to the individuals most qualified to deal with them, but the majority are dealt with by several of the participants.

Most of the viewers' questions concern the voting process. They want to know why mistakes have been made

in compiling voters' lists and how Czechoslovaks living abroad can vote. Many viewers ask the participants to explain the preferential voting system. Other viewers seek assurances that the officials presiding at the polling stations will not make public their own political preferences. No officials will be permitted to wear badges or pins supporting a particular party or movement. The participants also inform viewers that it is forbidden to conduct election "agitation" or to post campaign posters in the area around polling stations. Other questions deal with how voters who are not present at their place of permanent residence can acquire a polling card, what provisions have been made for eligible voters in hospital, in prison, and in the army to vote, and what kind of technology will be used to count the vote.

Hungarian Minority Files Complaint on Elections

AU0706153190 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
2 Jun 90 p 2

[Marta Csontosova report: "Attack on Small Parties?"]

[Excerpts] The coalition of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and the Coexistence Movement gave a news conference in Prague yesterday. Its topic was "fairness in the election campaign." Basically, the coalition's representatives were complaining about the following pre-election attacks: The word "Hungarian" was deleted from the title of the movement on the ballot papers; the electoral commission violated the sequence [in which the two coalition partners should be listed on the ballot paper], which should have been based on the number of candidates being fielded; and the candidates of the coalition on the ballot papers were not properly identified, i.e., it was not clear which political movement they actually represented. According to Docent Peter Puspoki, the coalition's consultant, the coalition has, in fact, not been properly registered and, as a result, its candidacy in the elections is not legally adequate [pravne adekvatne]. [passage omitted] The coalition's complaint has been lodged with the prosecutor general of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and the coalition has also turned to the president of the Republic and the chairman of the Federal Assembly with a request for assistance. Asked about the number of votes the coalition expected to win on entering the election campaign, its main consultant replied that, according to their data, there are 640,000 Hungarian speakers in Czechoslovakia, of whom 400,000 are entitled to vote. They reckoned with the realistic possibility of gaining the majority of these votes. [passage omitted]

Caller Says Red Berets To Blame for Bombing

AU0706123490

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 5 June on page 2 carries a 400-word report by Igor Cibula on a news conference given by Jan Urban, representative of the Civic Forum, in Prague on 4 June. The NARODNA OBRODA report includes the following passage: "A man with a deep voice called the

VECERNI PRAHA editorial office yesterday, after the paper had gone to press, providing information on the bomb attack in Old Town Square. According to the mysterious phone call, the attack has been claimed by the Red Berets [the now disbanded special riot police squad responsible for the bloody suppression of the 17 November 1989 student demonstration in Prague]: 'Call the first section, cover name Michael, and soon you will learn more.'" The report does not provide any additional information on the phone call.

'Gottwald' Communists Among Antidemocratic Groups

LD0706230590 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, June 7 (CTK)—As regards security everything is ready for the elections, the coordinating staff of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior entrusted with ensuring security of the elections stated at its session here Thursday.

The social and political situation is relatively stabilized. Only Saturday's explosion in old town square stirred up emotions, the participants stated.

Dealing with investigation of this terrorist attack police administration chief for Prague and central bohemia Lieutenant-Colonel Pavel Hofman said it is focusing now on material evidence represented by a steel pipe in which the explosive was placed and the charred pieces of a bag found on the scene. He did not specify the probable term of the offender's apprehension.

The Slovak Ministry of the Interior and Environment announced that several persons in Slovakia attempted to sell illegally voter's cards entitling a voter to cast his vote out of his permanent address. They were detained and the case is under investigation.

Czechoslovak First Deputy Minister of the Interior Major-General Andrej Samel said that seven groups threatening with armed attacks against the achievements of the "velvet" revolution have proclaimed their existence since Saturday. He gave the example of the so-called Gottwald Communist Party. (Klement Gottwald (1896-1953), Stalin's disciple, Czechoslovak President in 1948-1953, and Communist Party leader in 1929-1953). Andrej Samel said he handed over this group's anonymous letter to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, adding that such excesses must be punished.

CSFR Unable To Fulfill Obligations on Pollution

LD0706213390 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—Czech Minister of the Environment Bedrich Moldan told journalists here today that it is by no means feasible for Czechoslovakia to fulfil its obligation stemming from the 1985 convention on long-distance pollution in Europe and to reduce

emissions of sulphur dioxide going beyond the Czechoslovak borders by 30 per cent by 1993.

The government dealt with this question on Wednesday and is convinced that it is up to federal bodies to tackle the problem. As plants and mines under the federal ministries of mining, power and metallurgy and the heavy industry are the biggest air polluters it is up to them to work out such a concept that would meet international norms as soon as possible. In this respect, the Czech Republic is in a complicated position as most electricity is generated on its territory, Minister Moldan said.

According to him, it is necessary to create a realistic plan aimed at reduction of harmful emissions in all branches for which the federal state commission for technical development and investments should be responsible. In Minister Moldan's view, Czechoslovakia will not succeed in reducing the emissions of sulphur dioxide exceeding the Czechoslovak borders by 30 per cent even by 1995 but most probably, if mainly economic instruments are used, as late as in 1997.

New Agricultural Laws, Land Prices Set

AU0706124390 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY
in Czech 31 May 90 p 1

["zr"-signed report: "Land Prices To Be Set Before the End of June"]

[Text] Prague—The legislative activity of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food was the topic of a news conference which took place in Prague yesterday. Ema Baresova, director of the Legislative and Juridical Department of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food, stated here that social changes called for adoption of amendments to laws on agricultural cooperatives and on ownership of land and other real assets.

These legal changes make possible a division of unnaturally large cooperatives and reinforce the ownership sentiments for the land. She pointed out that the recognition of the land property right is in no way conditioned by the time of the claim of the property. Concerns of citizens who worry that they might make their claims too late are groundless.

Ministry staff along with other experts are preparing additional bills among which is an entirely new one on land, another one on the prevention of cruelty to animals, one on protection of plants, and one on food. The principles of the last one have already been drafted and they assume, among other things, the establishment of a "food bureau" which will supervise the impeccable quality of food, its packaging, and sales.

Regarding the prices of land, it was said that the Ministry will set their final variants by the end of this June. The anticipated price is between 5,000 and 120,000 korunas per hectare of arable land. Pastures should be cheaper by

roughly one-quarter, orchards, vineyards, or hop-gardens, on the other hand, should be up to 200 percent more expensive. These will be the estimates. It is assumed that in the actual contract transfers, the law of supply and demand will take precedence.

Communique on 31 May Federal Government Session

AU0706222090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
1 Jun 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Maternity-Leave Allowance Modified"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, the federal government accepted the proposal of the premier, Marian Calfa, and of deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs, Jiri Dienstbier, that diplomatic relations between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic [CSFR] and Vatican be reestablished on the highest level. The Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the Vatican to send a nuncio. The CSFR will be represented in Rome by an ambassador. The government also expressed its approval with CSFR's joining Interpol.

Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, submitted to the CSFR Government the principles for providing maternity leave allowance. According to the new concept, it should be a state contribution which belongs to the parent who personally cares for a child under three years of age. Mothers—or fathers, in case when fathers provide the care—who collect the maternity allowance will also be allowed to engage in gainful employment on a limited scale.

The federal government rejected the proposal of a practically immediate raise in prices of coal and energy by the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power, which was to serve as a financial injection to its sector.

The government decided that the highest recognition of creative workers in the fields of science, technology, and art (formerly the Klement Gottwald State Prize) be called the Czechoslovak State Prize, which is to be awarded hereafter on 28 October [anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia].

The government also approved the foundation of the Central European University in Prague and the Universita Istropolitana in Bratislava for postgraduate studies in the modern areas of economics.

Further, the government dealt with the so-called tourist rate of exchange for visitors from countries with convertible currency together with the measures to protect the internal market. It reached the conclusion to propose the introduction of an entry fee for each entry to Czechoslovakia—this proposal will have to be discussed as a legal provision of the Federal Assembly. The purpose of these measures is to limit the number of one-day "shopping" trips.

The Federal Government dealt again with the situation concerning medical supplies and drugs. Foreign

exchange in the amount of 300 million korunas was allocated for the necessary imports over and above the originally expected quantities.

TV Federation Criticizes Assembly Measure

LD0706230690 Prague CTK in English 1608 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions General Council today said the legal measure concerning the property of political parties, political movements and mass organizations, adopted by the Federal Assembly presidium in mid-May, is unfounded and even unlawful in the case of trade unions.

The trade unions support the measure as it prevents illegal machinations with property defrayed from subsidies, often gained unjustly from the state budget, the statement of the Trade Unions' General Council said, but rejected its application to the trade unions since it is allegedly at variance with the International Labour Organization convention article on the freedom of trade unions and protection of the right to form trade unions.

According to the document, trade unions have the right to organize their affairs and activity without any interference by public bodies. The Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions pointed out that trade union property was not paid from subsidies, but mainly from membership fees, the statement said and added that the confederation demands that the interpretation of the measure be changed.

Slovak Congress President Briefs Press

LD0506201790 Prague CTK in English 1452 GMT
5 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava May 5 (CTK)—"The World Congress of Slovaks, today like before the November 1989 revolution, strives to help Slovakia on its way to independence," the body's new President Marian Stastny told the press here today.

The former Czechoslovak national league hockey player said that the Congress of Slovaks would support any internal development in Czechoslovakia that would enable the Slovak republic to enter Europe as an independent subject. According to Mr Stastny, this goal can be achieved without infringing the existing Czechoslovak laws.

Marian Stastny appreciated contacts between the World Congress of Slovaks and "Matice Slovenska" (Slovak National Revival Organization). The first expression of this cooperation will be the fifth world youth festival to be held in Tatranska Lomnica (central Slovakia) in 1992.

Mr. Stastny defected Czechoslovakia in 1981 and after a career in the North American national Ice Hockey League (NHL) he went to politics within the World Congress of Slovaks.

CSFR TV Signs Agreement on Advertising

LD0806014590 Prague CTK in English 1924 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 7 (CTK)—An agreement on cooperation in advertisements broadcasting on the first federal, and second, Czech national programs of the Czechoslovak Television in the next three years was signed here today by Czechoslovak Television Director General Jiri Kanturek and Director General of the I.P. Group Company Gui Gervais.

The agreement is to contribute to the activation of Czechoslovakia's economic subjects in its transition to a market economy.

Present at the ceremony were also Minister-President of Lower Saxony Ernst Albrecht as representative of the West German Government, and Pierre Dauzier, director general of the French Societ Havas and adviser to French President Francois Mitterrand.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.

Former Secret Service Chief on Former Agents

LD0806090190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0737 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Munich (ADN)—Former GDR Secret Service chief Markus Wolf has proposed a settlement to the problems of agents between the two German states. In Friday's SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, he warns Bonn against believing that it can solve the intra-German spy problem with its present policy of "locking spies up, turning them around, and buying them up." A "disruptive factor" will remain, and there is a growing danger that even more GDR agents will start to work for other secret services "the longer it takes to find a general solution to the problem." Hence, Wolf thinks an exchange of ideas is needed between the two German Governments on the problem of GDR agents. Those who became agents out of political commitment—"and its only these we are concerned with"—and who had made great sacrifices for the GDR state were promised elementary social benefits. The present state leadership has to meet these promises as the legal successor, Wolf said.

Nor would he exclude the possibility of former GDR agents now starting to work for the Soviet secret service KGB. At the same time, he vehemently rejected the allegation that he had handed over agents in Moscow. "As head of the Soviet service I would be very cautious about anything to do with this compromised apparatus," he told the newspaper. But, one could not rule out "agents selling themselves on their own initiative."

Environment Minister Outlines Policy in Bonn

LD0706191990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0854 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—There will be no environmental dumping on the territory of the present GDR, said the GDR Minister of the Environment, Conservation, Energy, and Reactor Safety Prof. Karl-Hermann Steinberg, in Bonn on Wednesday evening. The market economy is to be developed in the GDR from the beginning with a strong ecological component. In a lecture the minister explained the environmental policy of the De Maiziere government, which has started with the firm aim of bringing an end to the policies pursued for 40 years at the expense of the environment. The GDR is facing the task of bringing about the fastest possible clean-up of the environment and the creation of an environment law framework, said the Christian Democratic Union politician. Steinberg mentioned as one

short-term measure a staggered program of closings and renovations for industrial plants, and said that this will have to be preceded by social security for the workers affected. In the medium term, there are plans for an environmentally sensitive re-equipping of those energy and production facilities that can be operated in accordance with EC and FRG norms. The minister said the long-term task is the fundamental restructuring of industry. He paid tribute to the support already given by the FRG. The GDR wants to make an appropriate contribution to the solution of European and global environment problems, is seeking collaboration in the planned European environmental agency, and would welcome it being based in Berlin.

Economic Cooperation With UK To Be Expanded

LD0606190990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1658 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Great Britain want to expand their economic relations. This was stated in Berlin today by GDR Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl and the parliamentary under secretary of state in the Ministry of Trade and Industry of Great Britain, John Redwood. The GDR is interested in British firms and banks investing here productively or setting up branches, said Pohl.

The development of cooperative relations and joint ventures could help substantially in expanding existing sales and purchases, the minister said. Apart from already defined focal points, the GDR also sees real possibilities for cooperation in the construction industry, tourism, the communications sector, and infrastructure. It is working on legal regulations for new forms of economic cooperation. Thus an agreement on avoidance of double taxation and an investment protection agreement is to be signed soon.

The two sides agreed that the work of the mixed commission should be adapted to the new conditions within the framework of the long-term government agreement on the development of economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation.

The GDR exports above all machine tools, printing and agricultural machinery, products of scientific-technical instrument construction and the chemical and metallurgical industry, potash, furniture, and textiles to Great Britain. The latter in turn delivers rationalization equipment, chemical and metallurgical products as well as textiles and wool to the GDR.

PDS Chairman Gysi Holds Talks in Vienna

LD0606195190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1202 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Vienna (ADN)—The chairman of the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] and its People's

Chamber group, Gregor Gysi, had a meeting in Vienna on Wednesday with Rudolf Poeder, the president of the Austrian National Assembly. Both politicians expressed their interest in intensifying relations between the parliaments in Vienna and Berlin, with all party groups participating. Speaking about the PDS chairman's account of the current state of the German unification process, Poeder said after the meeting that he shared some of the concerns voiced, including those relating to the social consequences for GDR citizens.

According to the PDS chairman there was a heated exchange of views about the renewal of the two parties at a meeting with the two chairmen of the Communist Party (KPOe), Susanne Sohn and Walter Silbermayr. There was agreement that there must be greater cohesion between left-wing forces on the continent, "so that the united Europe does not become simply a Europe of capital and even of German capital." Social and other interests should be focused on more, Eurocentrism should be avoided, since otherwise there is a threat of being overwhelmed by the problems of the Third World. [passage omitted]

In the evening Gysi had a talk with the former Federal Chancellor and Austrian Socialist Party Chairman Bruno Kreisky.

Austrian CP Forum

LD0606230490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2144 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) is currently seeking partners in the FRG for an all-German election campaign. As PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi stated at a forum in Vienna this evening, talks were being held with "many Greens" in the FRG, who were however deeply split in their attitude toward his party. The Greens' compromise consists of partial cooperation on issues where opportunities exist. This is similarly true for the Communist Party of Germany. If necessary, Gysi said, the PDS will enter the election campaign alone and try to clear the 5 percent hurdle. He sees the main path for the PDS's work in the extraparlimentary area.

At the meeting organized by the Austrian Communist Party, Gysi warned of the "expansionist character" of a united Germany. For this reason the country must be demilitarized and neutral and should not be allowed to join NATO. "Germany will have to live with this restriction on its sovereignty after two world wars," the party leader said. The conclusion of a peace treaty is necessary. He hopes for support from the USSR and all other European states on these issues. Gysi rejected the State Treaty as an "unambiguous program of annexation" which the PDS will fight.

Wuensche Advocates Provisional Basic Law

AU0706142390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jun 90 p 3

[ADN report: "'Provisional Basic Law'" for GDR Is Being Developed"]

[Text] Hannover (ADN)—The GDR is to develop a "provisional basic law" before its unification with the FRG. As reported by the HANNOVERSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on Wednesday [6 June], GDR Justice Minister Dr. Kurt Wuensche has already submitted a relevant draft law to the GDR Council of Ministers, which is to pass a resolution on it. The "provisional basic law" contains, among other things, regulations on the establishment of a GDR laender chamber. Article 2 defines the GDR colors as being black-red-gold. Article 5 terminates GDR citizenship, it is stated.

FDP Discusses Minister Wuensche

AU0706135890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 5 Jun 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "FDP Position on Wuensche Discussed"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/BZ)—A statement to the press by the Free Democratic Party (FDP) which was conveyed to ADN on Saturday [2 June] says: During the session of the Liberals' Group on Friday afternoon [1 June], GDR FDP Chairman Dr. Bruno Menzel explained the FDP's position on the topic of "Wuensche" [GDR justice minister] in the presence of FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Menzel made it again clear that he expects a politician to be so loyal to his own past and his party that he has no questions about what he should do.

Democracy Now's Ullmann Discusses State Treaty

AU0706164390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 31 May 90 p 7

[Interview with Wolfgang Ullmann, deputy People's Chamber president, member of Democracy Now, and chairman of the Alliance 90/Greens group in the People's Chamber, by Bettina Urbanski; date and place not given: "Changed Constitutional Situation Because of State Treaty"]

[Text] [Urbanski] One could call you the democratic conscience of the People's Chamber. In view of the fact that the understanding of democracy is rather small, are you something like a voice crying in the wilderness?

[Ullmann] I hope that I am not a voice crying in the wilderness. This is a prophetic rank which is due to John the Baptist. I think and hope that I am speaking in the name of this conscience, and also of the conscience of the deputies of the other groups, not only of my own group.

[Urbanski] What, do you think, will our country look like when the state treaty comes into force?

[Ullmann] I have always spoken out very clearly on this topic in public. I hope that the dark predictions which we have heard will not come to pass in their full harshness. Of course, all experts agree that the whole thing is a very risky undertaking—namely the most risky path that one can follow. Nevertheless, I hope that, in the end, something will come out of it which really helps the people in this country and is beneficial to their freedom, their human dignity, but also to their welfare. Of course, one still has to struggle for this. You know that the Social Democratic Party of Germany is trying to make some amendments to the state treaty. This shows what problems there can be with a state treaty, which can hardly have its form changed. This is why I have criticized this process so strongly as undemocratic. What really concerns me at the moment—as much as the worry about the economic consequences—is the change in the constitutional law. In the People's Chamber and in the German Unity Committee in Bonn I pointed out that the state treaty changes the constitutional situation. It is—de facto—a new constitution. And this is already something which, actually, must not exist in this form. One cannot give a country a new constitution without a referendum.

[Urbanski] Influential FRG politicians rule out a referendum by pointing to the Basic Law, Article 146, however, envisages the completion of unity through a new constitution.

[Ullmann] Yes, in addition, the path toward the referendum is envisaged in Article 20, which ensures the observation of the basic right through election and the vote. Now the term vote is being discussed. But the history of the Basic Law shows very clearly that this really refers to a referendum. It is a dubious view of democracy, if one suddenly claims that a referendum is something dangerous or unnecessary. The reasons given are extremely flimsy.

[Urbanski] The path toward German unity has been outlined by the state treaty. How can one make it more clear for the population?

[Ullmann] Precisely by working like BERLINER ZEITUNG does—and I am glad that it exists. By asking the politicians what they have to say about this. I think that this is a very important task. And I am very grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to discuss this matter. As regards television, one gets the impression that it is again trying to make as few difficulties as possible for the government and it publishes only the pieces of good advice: Be confident and hopeful, do not refuse to do something, be active.

All this is not bad. But if one brings the GDR citizens into a situation in which they can certainly not be investors or founders of companies.... And if I ask what

will happen to the Leuna industrial area, for instance, I do not get any answer. I hear only rumors that the two German Governments are negotiating on spending money to make it possible for some enterprises there to go on producing for 1 or 2 years, so that there is not too much of a crash. On the other hand, there is no plan to restructure the completely obsolete industry. This is what one would have to do first. There have been no proposals by the economics minister, only by some FRG industrialists.

[Urbanski] The fact that individual government representatives are not willing or able to answer specific questions by the citizens about future developments permits two conclusions: First, one is waiting, bound by the state treaty, for signals from Bonn; second, insufficient expert knowledge seems to become obvious here and there.

[Ullmann] Unfortunately, I can only confirm this assessment. A well-known example is the following: The state treaty upholds the vague hope that the citizens will get shares in state property for their savings assets, which are not exchanged at a 1:1 rate. The economics minister has repeatedly spoken of the right of preemption and has silently turned the right to a share envisaged by the state treaty, into a right of preemption.

[Urbanski] The state treaty lists 30 laws which we will take over from the FRG; others will be adjusted. These processes have to continue. However, is it possible to set down exactly the legal situation under these conditions?

[Ullmann] It becomes increasingly less clear what executive powers this government still has. This is an unbearable situation for the GDR citizens. Many questions are still open, including the question of what will happen to rights of tenancy, houses, and real estate property.

[Urbanski] What influence will you exert as deputy People's Chamber president and People's Chamber deputy in this respect?

[Ullmann] Of course the situation is extremely unfavorable for our citizens if they are left in the lurch to such an extent by those who should be their legal representatives, administrators, and advocates. Nevertheless, someone like me has to try again and again to set down certain basic principles. I intend to take some steps in the Constitutional Committee, and I have also proposed an initiative to turn to renowned personalities at the international level to make clear this insufficient legal situation of the GDR citizen and to establish an international forum, where representatives of the Tenants Association or of the Alliance of Owners of People's Shares can state their concerns.

After all, I cannot be indifferent to the fact that I have received a whole laundry basket full of applications for people's shares. I have to do everything possible to ensure the rights of our people.

One Ambassador To Serve in Bonn, Berlin

LD0706104690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Jozsef Antall has made an announcement in Moscow that seems quite sensational: the Hungarian ambassador in Bonn is to take over the leadership of the Berlin Embassy, too. Tamas Frey asked a Foreign Ministry official, department chief Tade Alföldi.

[Frey] I think that with this we are once more first in doing something: Istvan Horvath is the first ambassador in the world who will represent a country in both East and West Germany—that is, Hungary has, de jure, acknowledged the unification of the two German states. Is it possible to interpret it this way?

[Alföldi] Our intention is, considering the realities of the German unification process, to coordinate the work of our two missions in Germany. Anyway, this is what is happening in Germany. We are not doing anything but reacting quickly to the current reality.

[Frey] Somewhat quicker than East and West Germany, for in this case, we carried out this coordination quicker than they themselves. Isn't this so? [Alföldi] Well, I do not know; we do not wish to compete with anybody. We consider that this is simply a possibility and necessity provided by the times. It is a possibility in the sense that there is no political obstacle to this. As for our quick reaction, this is nothing new, considering recent Hungarian diplomacy.

[Frey] How will the world react to this? Is it conceivable that several other countries will follow the Hungarian example?

[Alföldi] I am certain that they will follow, not the Hungarian example but the realities.

Jeszensky, Antall Comment on Warsaw Pact

Jeszensky Interview

LD0706180490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky is to deliver a speech today at the session of the West European Union in Paris. Prior to that he gave an interview to the Paris paper LE FIGARO. Miklos Keleti reports.

[Keleti] It is not in the interests of Hungary to remain within the Warsaw Pact, said Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky, who is to address a speech at the session of the West European Union in Paris today, in his interview given to LE FIGARO of Paris. At the same time Geza Jeszensky stressed that Hungary intends to leave the Warsaw Pact through negotiations, and it will not make unilateral steps without consulting the partner countries. The Hungarian foreign minister recalled our economic relations with the Soviet Union, which, as he

said, instigate the Hungarian Government to come to an agreement with Moscow through negotiations.

In connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal, Geza Jeszensky pointed out that it is impossible for the time being to set a fixed deadline, and he added: We do understand the Soviet Union's situation, too, knowing the country's history. If we want to work out a long-lasting security system for all of Europe, this can only be achieved by the inclusion of the Soviet Union, said Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky in his interview with Paris' LE FIGARO.

Jeszensky on Pact's Future

PM0806100490 Paris LE MONDE in French
8 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky by Sophie Shihab in Paris; date not given]

[Text] [Shihab] The new Hungarian Government has advocated eventually leaving the Warsaw Pact and replacing it by a collective security system. Is this a radicalization by your party—the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]—which formerly advocated neutrality?

[Jeszensky] Things are changing very quickly. When the MDF foreign policy commission, which I headed, drew up the policy on Hungary's neutrality, East Europe had not had its revolution and we were surrounded by orthodox communists who were in contact with the Kremlin conservatives and who wanted Gorbachev's fall. Since then, our elections have forcefully demonstrated that our participation in the Warsaw Pact is contrary to the nation's will. We say that the treaty itself is useless. I can say this without offending the USSR, because everybody is now aware that it has no reason to continue as a defense pact. The security of the USSR and the other Pact members can be guaranteed by many other means. We should no longer seek security among a small circle of countries.

[Shihab] Are you therefore in favor of dissolving both the Warsaw Pact and NATO?

[Jeszensky] Yes, probably, but it is impossible to set a timetable. This must all be discussed, notably in the framework of the Vienna negotiations, and it depends on the future of the CSCE.... We have clearly stated that we do not want to break suddenly with the Warsaw Pact. That would be dangerous, and stupid and would not be welcomed by the Western powers.... We want to keep a door open to the USSR. It supplies us with our oil and gas, munitions, and spare parts for our army. In addition, it forms a large part of our market, although the forthcoming transition to trade in convertible currency will be initially unfavorable to us.... We will honor all our commitments to the legal document which the Warsaw Pact is but we must open negotiations with the USSR and the other pact countries. Contrary to other Hungarian political parties, we understand that the USSR must not be isolated and left without adequate security.

[Shihab] Will you request the start of negotiations on your withdrawal at the Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow on Thursday?

[Jeszzenszky] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will clearly state that this is Hungary's intention. But we need a gradual approach. The end of the Warsaw Pact depends on what replaces it.... Some people are talking of a nonaggression pact between the two blocs or of nonaggression pacts between the countries taken individually, or even of conflict management institutions with or without the right of veto, and all this must be discussed.

[Shihab] You have just taken part in the Copenhagen meeting of the 35 CSCE countries on the human dimension. Are you satisfied with its results?

[Jeszzenszky] It was very useful. For the first time in the postwar period, an international conference tackled the question of the right of minorities in Europe. A very balanced document was put forward jointly by five countries (Hungary, Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia). I hope that it can be adopted. The possible disagreement relates to the notion of collective rights as opposed to that of exclusively individual rights which was upheld by the Romanian representative. President Ion Iliescu was due to make a proposal to Mr Antall in Moscow on Wednesday evening regarding the Hungarian minority in Romania. I hope that it will be a good start. The main thing is to restore the cultural institutions of the Hungarian minority in Romania, to end the wave of young people emigrating because they see no future for them in Romania.

Antall on Pact, Talks With Gorbachev

*LD0706212490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 7 Jun 90*

[Excerpts] After the [Warsaw Pact] summit meeting, Premier Jozsef Antall spoke to Hungarian correspondents. Listen to our roundup.

[Begin Antall recording] Our key phrase in the course of the entire discussions was that we wish there to be a review of the character, function, and operation of the Warsaw Pact. And we left the words "radical change" in the proposal which was submitted as a compromise. We worded it in this manner, because "review" means that all the questions, and the entire pact, must be reviewed in such a way that we can alter it in the transition period, too, and we make our further steps contingent on the all-European security system.

What is most important for us is that, on the one hand, the Vienna European security agreement should come about; the talks should continue; we should be able to ensure the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary; we should not hamper the German unification process.

Obviously, the GDR's standpoint in these issues is extremely delicately shaded and well thought out, since no one wishes to endanger the political processes.

The Western countries, too, emphasize support for Gorbachev's policy, or for strengthening his position, and any unilateral step which would undermine Gorbachev's position is unambiguously opposed by the Western world. [passage omitted]

Naturally, we, too, must practice politics which do not endanger the international assessment of us, which do not endanger our economic situation. I think that it is not novel to see what the Soviet Union means to us from the point of view of Hungary's energy and raw material supply, and also from the point of view of her market opportunities, which also affect unemployment.

What we emphasized at the bilateral negotiations, too, is that Hungary wishes to be a predictable partner. And Gorbachev said that he fully and clearly understood our programs, they see our aims fully and clearly and accept them too.

The negotiations took place in an extraordinarily good atmosphere, and he very frankly informed us about the internal difficulties of the Soviet Union; the bureaucracy's, the functionaries' and others' resistance to reform; and economic and other problems. And I think that the fact that we did not waffle and did not use colorful phrases in our speeches, but instead laid down clearly the aims, and clearly stated that we want to realize the aims through negotiations and through bilateral agreements and do not wish to endanger the interests of others—we were able through this to gain understanding for Hungary because it is precisely what they appreciate. They, too, know what they can expect. This was very firmly stressed by Gorbachev, who expressed his special sympathy for the Hungarian Government.

Really, it is a very odd feeling and a very strange situation because we are taking part in such a political consultative body, in such a treaty with which really we do not agree. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Antall Comments on Pact Meeting

*LD0806100490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0445 GMT 8 Jun 90*

[Statement by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to journalists; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] We consider it desirable for the Warsaw Pact's military organization to be abolished by the end of 1991, and we consider the creation of a European security system most important. Further, our concrete proposals for talks are: Establishment of a committee, which as it were would take stock of the Warsaw Pact's most important problems; the removal of all elements offending sovereignty; further, the full restoration of sovereignty over the Army, and so on. If we take all this into consideration, then I think the Hungarian delegation represented its standpoint in the most marked way. I think that closest to this stood certain manifestations of the Czechoslovak delegation. The GDR standpoint was also close to us in many respects.

Naturally, we, too, must pursue a policy which on the one hand does not endanger our international assessment, which does not endanger our economic situation. I think it is not a novel thing to refer to what the Soviet Union means from the present point of view of Hungary's energy supply, raw material supply, and of her market opportunities, which also affect unemployment. Therefore, a responsible Hungarian Government must pursue a policy which clearly determines the objectives and, in addition to determining the objectives, has regard for the foreign political assessment of our own government and mainly of our own country, and has regard for our economic situation, which at the same time affects the living standard of the Hungarian population.

We said it clearly that we wish to carry out the objectives by way of discussions, with bilateral agreements, and we do not wish to endanger the interests of other countries either. We were able, through this, to gain understanding for Hungary because what they appreciate is precisely if, following open talks, they too can know what to expect.

In point of fact, this was a significant result, that the entire discussion was to have started with a sentence formulated in advance: how to transform and improve the Warsaw Pact, while maintaining it. And we took in the concept: reexamination of the Warsaw Pact's nature, function, and activity. This formulation was adopted. It had not yet been adopted in the course of the preparatory discussions, but it was adopted at the plenary session. President Gorbachev also nodded to it; they took cognizance of it, and from this point this became the key to the whole discussion. This was important because from here on the guiding thread which determined what followed was reexamination.

In actual fact, this is a very strange feeling and a very strange situation, because we are taking part in a political consultative body, in a treaty with which in actual fact we do not agree. But, at the same time, in the gathering of those who do not agree, we sit together with President Havel, and let us say with Mazowiecki and others, or with Premier de Maiziere, who is preparing for German unity. So, if we look at the composition of this political consultative body, then it is very interesting, because it is entirely one that had been signed by others, and actually I think it is of a fairly symbolic significance that we can sit here together with Arpad Goencz and represent Hungary in this circle.

Jeszzenszky Cites Foreign Policy Goals to WEU

LD0706194390 Budapest MTI in English
1844 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 7 (MTI)—Geza Jeszenszky was the first Hungarian foreign minister to address the session of the General Assembly of the West European Union [WEU]. Mr Jeszenszky discussed the goals of Hungarian foreign policy, in his address in Paris on Thursday.

The Hungarian foreign minister met Secretary of State Thierry de Beauce at a working breakfast in the French Foreign Ministry. Mr de Beauce is filling in for Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

Mr Jeszenszky had already met Mr Dumas in Copenhagen, and the sides held comprehensive discussions.

In his address to the General Assembly, Mr Jeszenszky stressed that the government carries out a foreign policy based on the priority of the national interests of the Republic of Hungary. Its fundamental goal is to contribute to the creation of the new European security and cooperation system, and to restore Hungary traditional relations with Europe, to join the West European integration organizations as soon as possible.

Mr Jeszenszky said: "We wish to intensify our relations with our neighbours, on the basis of democratic values and reciprocal advantages. We wish to create a re-evaluated good neighbourly relations, to develop regional cooperation." In this context, Mr Jeszenszky was of the opinion that the new cooperation between Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Italy "is a major contribution to a common Europe, it can enrich and make it more diverse."

Regarding the government's minority policy, he said its main goal is to fully ensure human rights, including minority rights.

Mr Jeszenszky noted: "We want security for Hungary, but we are aware this is possible only amidst the framework of security realized for all concerned. We wish to contribute to the creation of a system which realizes this security for the members of NATO, the Warsaw Treaty and the neutral countries."

The foreign minister invited the president of the Council of the West European Union, the general secretary, and a delegation of the General Assembly, to visit Hungary.

On Thursday Mr Jeszenszky held talks in the Elysee Palace with Elizabeth Gigou, advisor to President Mitterrand.

The foreign minister met leaders of several French political parties. In the headquarters of the Union for French Democracy, he held talks with Francois Bayrou, UDF vice-president, and Alain Lamassoure, spokesman of the opposition in charge of foreign affairs, members of the National Assembly. Mr Jeszenszky also held talks with Alain Juppe, general secretary of the Rassemblement pour La Republique Party.

USSR To Trade Oil for Industrial Products, Food

LD0606213990 Budapest MTI in English
1928 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—The Budapest-based East-West Public Limited Company will market the

annual 400,000 tons of Soviet petroleum, the inter-company marketing of which Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov allowed a Soviet oil-producing directorate a few weeks ago.

The agreement on the distribution was signed on Wednesday. The Public Limited Company is to deliver food products, and industrial installations, mainly oil industry machines, in return for the petroleum.

The sides plan mutual annual deliveries valued at 50-60 million dollars.

Kiraly Receives Romanian Delegation From Hungary

*AU0706203690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1903 GMT 7 Jun 90*

[Text] On 7 June, Karoly Kiraly, PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] vice-president, received the delegation of the Romanians' Democratic Union of Hungary, led by Gheorghe Mihaescu, the union's chairman, who is also the chairman of the Nationalities Union of Hungary.

During the interview aspects were discussed of the cooperation and collaboration between Romania and Hungary, between the nationalities of the two countries.

It was agreed to continue the dialogue to the end of solving the problems facing the two communities in Romania and Hungary, as well as in the neighbouring countries.

Agreement Abolishes Denmark Visa Obligation

*LD0506221990 Budapest MTI in English
1925 GMT 5 Jun 90*

[Text] Copenhagen, June 5 (MTI)—Foreign Ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Uffe Ellemann-Jensen of Denmark signed an agreement on mutually abolishing obligatory visas, in Copenhagen on Tuesday [5 June].

From June 15, citizens of the two countries will no longer require visas for travels of less than three months in the two countries.

Denmark is the third member state of the European communities after the FRG and Italy with which country Hungary has signed an agreement on abolishing the obligatory visa system.

Finland's Holkeri Interviewed Prior to Departure

Comments on Baltics Policy

*LD0606225490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Jun 90*

[Text] Before he left for Moscow the Hungarian prime minister held a joint press conference with his Finnish counterpart, Harri Holkeri. Agota Narancsik interviewed the latter.

[Begin recording] [Narancsik] Finland has pursued a neutral policy for a long time. How is the meaning of neutrality changing now that the bipolar world is ceasing to exist?

[Holkeri, in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] If we view neutrality as a restriction or as being restricted, then there is no need for it after the military blocs are abolished. However, if we view it as a source of strength and if we view it as ensuring greater scope for maneuver, then in truth it means more than in the past. In the Europe of the future, many military problems will be resolved, but many contradictions will remain, and new ones will arise. As for myself, I should like to have a free hand in the future myself.

[Narancsik] How is Finland able to maintain its exceptionally good relations with the USSR in the midst of the Baltic crisis?

[Holkeri] Finnish-Soviet relations do not depend on individual events. The basic principle of our traditionally good relationship is that Finland cannot be used against its neighbors. This is the situation in the case of the Baltic republics, too. I am of the view that they, too, must follow the path which Finland trod when it separated from Russia. First the Russians accepted our statement of independence, and after this the other states recognized Finland. The Baltic republics must hold talks and get Moscow to accept them.

[Narancsik] What can Finland do to support the Baltic independence movements?

[Holkeri] We sympathize with them, for we are very close, and we know about and have lived through their problems. The question, however, is not only the desire for freedom, because there are also many associated economic and other problems. We try to pass on our experiences to them and to give them bearings on how we did it more than 70 years ago. [end recording]

Signs Cooperation Pact, Departs

*LD0606201190 Budapest MTI in English
1840 GMT 6 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri on Wednesday visited the Budapest University of Economics, and delivered a paper entitled "The Relation Between Finland and European Integration".

Mr Holkeri said a cooperation statement will most probably be signed next week with Hungary at the conference of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries. Alongside cooperation in trade, economy, industry, technology and the sciences, the agreement will cover tourism, transportation and environmental issues as well.

Mr Holkeri then met interim President of the Republic Arpad Goncz, in parliament building, Budapest.

After the cordial discussions, Mr Holkeri and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall held an international press conference.

Marja-Liisa Holkeri, wife of the Finnish prime minister, visited the Peto Institute in Budapest, then made a short excursion to Szentendre.

Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri and his party left Budapest on Wednesday afternoon. The delegation was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry.

Democratic Forum Presidium Creates New Posts

*LD0206194890 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 2 Jun 90*

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is holding its national meeting. The question of whether a new presidium should be elected by the organization or, owing to the pressure of work on those who took government functions upon themselves, whether the expansion of the presidium should be urged, has also been raised at the conference, among other issues. Attila Miklos Nemeth reports from the Olympic Sports Hall:

[Nemeth] The MDF National Presidium will have 19 members including the chairman, and it will operate with five deputy chairmen. It is not yet known who will be the four new members. The voting on the subject is taking place right now. By the way, in the debate on the

alteration of statutes, this afternoon some proposed complete re-election of officials, others suggested only the re-election of the board on the basis of a new system. Thus, it was the original submission of the presidium that the nearly 1,200 delegates of the MDF National Meeting adopted. This was necessary, because the bulk of the present presidium is engaged in government or parliamentary tasks. Nineteen candidates have been proposed by the committee for the four new posts, which would be exactly enough for the complete new presidium, but it is out of the question, of course. The introduction of the institution of co-chairman, however, seriously came up. The deputy who put forward the proposal mentioned the name of Sandor Csoori, but his proposal remained just a proposal.

Thus, Premier Jozsef Antall has remained MDF chairman, who in his speech this morning soothed the deputies, saying his government is stable and that he has taken upon himself to show the country a way out. He also said the MDF did have to conclude an agreement with the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] in the interests of a stable government. Jozsef Antall stressed that he personally accepts the political and moral responsibility for this agreement at any time. He also mentioned that although there is not a burning revolutionary atmosphere in the country, we, however, have chosen peaceful transition. Yet, as a result of this, we managed to preserve our values and we can look forward confidently to the future with the hope of the nation's revival.

Outcome of Gorbachev-Bush Summit Examined*AU0706205690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
5 Jun 90 p 1*

[Konstanty Gebert commentary: "Gorbachev After the Summit"]

[Text] The Washington Gorbachev-Bush summit took place in Moscow. Not in the geographical, but in the political sense. The fundamental point of departure in the discussions held by the two leaders was not so much the fate of the world, or bilateral relations, but the development of the internal situation in the USSR. More to the point, it was about Gorbachev's prospects.

Hitherto, the Americans have had to deal with an aggressive, expansionist Soviet Union that broke concluded agreements. It was a difficult partner, one you could not completely trust, but it was predictable. Today, it is difficult to foresee how long Gorbachev will stay in power, let alone what the Kremlin's policy will be in a couple of years. All that might come after Gorbachev will not only be unpredictable, but becomes incalculable. The specter of civil war in a superpower that has a nuclear capability, although it is still highly unlikely, has ceased to be the material that was the exclusive province of novelists who specialize in political thrillers.

That is the reason why the main preoccupation of the Americans was to extend political support to their Soviet guest. Support of sufficient strength calculated to exert an influence on the situation in the Kremlin, but at the same time flexible enough so that in the event of sudden, personnel, or political changes in the Soviet leadership it would not rebound on the people who had given it. Even President Bush's goodwill had its objective limits, as set by the U.S. Congress and America's allies, especially the Germans, without whose agreement no European arrangement is possible.

Thus, the outcome of the summit is both impressive and at the same time unpretentious. There is the agreement on START, but the treaty itself, which many Soviet generals do not like, has been postponed. There is the trade treaty so much desired by Gorbachev, but it does not have the most-favored-nation clause, which the Congress did not want to give. There is the American diplomatic silence on Lithuania, but this issue is bound to surface anyway when the time comes to ratify the trade treaty. This ratification is already dependent on the wording of the Soviet law on emigration, and this point will not be missed by Gorbachev's enemies.

And finally, the most delicate matter: Germany. The substance of the issue, a unified Germany in NATO, is self-evident to everyone, but the problem is how to go about it so that it becomes acceptable to the Soviet political hierarchy. Gorbachev's proposal of a treaty between the two blocks mainly serves to save face. The same, apparently, can be said about his threats that the USSR will slow down the tempo of negotiations on conventional arms reductions (which Moscow has to

reduce for economic reasons), or halt the emigration of Jews (to open another plane of political confrontation for itself). All this lacks credibility.

Thus, Gorbachev returns home with a basket full of promises. It is certain that given the present conditions only he could have secured them, but will it be enough?

Jaruzelski, Others Give Views on Pact Meeting**Report, Jaruzelski Comment***LD0706183790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 7 Jun 90*

[Text] At a meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee [PCC] in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev presented the results of his talks with George Bush. He also spoke about difficulties which the potential membership of a united Germany in the North Atlantic Treaty would create. The Soviet Union is in favor of all aspects connected with the unification of Germany being regulated under international law. This problem will be the subject of talks between six states this month in East Berlin.

President Gorbachev emphasized very forcefully the new, completely different, nature of relations between Poland and the other Warsaw Pact states and the Soviet Union.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent (Siezieniewski), in Moscow] The meeting of the PCC of the Warsaw Pact member states ended with the adoption of a joint declaration. In the unanimous view of the participants in the meeting, the event was a turning point in the history of the pact. The participants in the meeting set up a provisional commission of government plenipotentiaries which by the end of October will submit appropriate proposals for change to the PCC.

During today's meeting the Czechoslovak and Hungarian delegations even proposed that the combined command of the Pact be abolished and the practice of allocating proportions of the national armies to the so-called joint forces be abandoned. In their view the nature of the Warsaw Pact should be that of a defensive pact which only undertakes joint operations in the event of a military threat. But it appears that the direction of work of the joint commission will not be as radical as this.

For us Poles, today there was another meeting which cannot be overlooked. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki held a 30-minute discussion with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov. I asked the president of the Polish Republic what it was about.

[Jaruzelski] The meeting was important, as it emphasized the stability and continuity of our contacts, and the use of every opportunity to continue them. We mainly discussed economic matters, certain issues of mutual interest which would be above all beneficial for Poland. We asked Mikhail Gorbachev to meet us half way

regarding some of our problems and they were sympathetic. I think this will develop further. [end recording]

Skubiszewski: Pact in 'Crisis'

LD0706193890 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Today in Moscow, the fate of the Warsaw Pact hung in the balance.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Participants in the [Warsaw Pact] Political Consultative Committee conference spoke in favor of the creation of a general European security system, and a unified continent. The nature and functions of the Pact will change, it was decided. It will be transformed into an alliance of sovereign states possessing equal rights, and constructed on democratic foundations. The alliance on new principles will function during the transition period. The aim is to create a new European and global order, in which the concepts of East and West will regain their exclusively geographic significance.

[Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski] The Warsaw Pact still exists. It is going through a crisis. Relations within the Pact—that is, relations between states which are its members, and therefore allies—require restructuring. In my opinion, the Pact's military role is declining as a result of the obvious truth that the danger of war in Europe does not at present exist, other than through some tragic mishap or misunderstanding, and this of course has a bearing on the role of the Pact. On the other hand, we often hear from the Western states that, as regards stabilization in relations today, the Warsaw Pact is useful insofar as it may be a reliable partner for talks with the North Atlantic Treaty, with its members and participants. It exists as a military alliance, but, in my opinion, this is its function, a defensive alliance in accordance with the UN Charter, without any functions of an ideological nature or those influencing the systems of states. These are closed issues, and from what President Gorbachev was saying today, it transpires that this unfortunately long period in the history of the Pact is fortunately now closed. [end recording]

Skubiszewski on Gorbachev Address

LD0706195490 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, June 7—In a statement for PAP commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's Thursday address in the forum of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said:

"President Gorbachev said a lot about his visit to the U.S. He sees much room for the coordination of some actions between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. In this respect, I would see such items as some disarmament questions, so much if they are not subject to negotiations on other planes, and next the setting up of mutual confidence measures. [sentence as received]

"The Soviet president discussed extensively the difficulty created by possible membership of united Germany in NATO. He pointed to the possibility of various solutions that are negotiated.

"It is a truism what I will say but this is the most difficult item in the unification of Germany," Minister Skubiszewski said. "The USSR comes out for an overall, final, legal and international solution to all questions of the unification of Germany. This problem will be discussed during the talks of six states in East Berlin this month. Next, it will be continued, as for the border questions, in Paris in July already with the participation of Poland.

"I had very important talks on this topic and related subjects with Minister Genscher in Copenhagen on Wednesday [6 June]," the Polish foreign minister added.

Jaruzelski: Summit 'Very Significant'

LD0706213890 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, June 7—"The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty was very significant," Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski told PAP after the conclusion of the debates.

"It was held in a completely new political situation in the world, in Europe and in our region, and above all, in Poland. I expected the complexity of this situation and its nature, which was so different from the to-date one, would make it difficult to find a common denominator between people most of whom met for the first time and whose political origins were so different. It turned out, however, that dominating was understanding of some overriding values and overriding interests," went on the Polish president.

"All this resulted in a common declaration and obligation to conduct further actions which would make it possible to thoroughly update the Warsaw Treaty so that it become a tool of dialogue, cooperation and rapprochement between the two parts of Europe, the East and the West."

"As far as my meeting with the Soviet president is concerned I highly hold [as received] every talk with Mikhail Gorbachev. Our relations are marked by understanding and friendship. Though our meeting was incidental it was very significant as it confirmed durability and continuity of our contacts."

"We discussed economic issues and some problems of interest, the implementation of which would be profitable above all for Poland. We asked Mikhail Gorbachev to meet some of our problems halfway. We met with friendliness. I believe this will continue," Wojciech Jaruzelski said.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki News Briefing

LD0706223990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee [PCC] of the Warsaw Pact member-states has taken place in Moscow. On their return from the capital of the Soviet Union, President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki were asked by journalists at Warsaw's Okęcie Airport to assess the progress of the session.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] I believe that its progress was successful and useful, in accordance with our expectations. We thought that the Warsaw Pact was still necessary, although it should be fundamentally reformed; its sectors, its functions have to correspond to the spirit of the times. Side by side with what in a sense is its traditional function it becomes increasingly a political body and at the same time, and perhaps even most importantly, a platform for dialogue between East and West. A very important new function. At one time it divided, today it could bring together.

[Correspondent] And what about the German issues? What has it produced in respect of the German [word indistinct]?

[Jaruzelski] We took the well-known position, which was received sympathetically. It was commented on at different temperatures in different speeches but I believe that our arguments were accepted.

[Mazowiecki] It seems to me that this was an important meeting for two reasons. First, by virtue of its timing—that is, it was taking place after an important Gorbachev-Bush meeting. Gorbachev presented an interesting and detailed report to us on this in a speech lasting more than an hour. And secondly, for fundamental reasons, because this was the first time that the Warsaw Pact, the Warsaw Pact PCC gathered in this composition.

As you probably already know, ladies and gentlemen, it was decided to appoint a commission which by the end of November is to prepare a draft envisaging changes in the Warsaw Treaty and present it for discussion by the Political Committee.

Our statement stated that there were changes needed in the Warsaw Pact and that temporarily it should still be retained, but that we should already be thinking of a system of collective European security.

[Correspondent] So far the Soviet Union has not agreed to the unified Germany's membership of NATO. Secretary of State Baker said in Scotland today that he found certain positive changes in the Soviet position after his meeting with Minister Shevardnadze in Copenhagen. Did you, Premier, find any changes in that position in respect of this problem?

[Mazowiecki] Indeed, I think that either tomorrow or the day after there is a meeting between Minister Shevardnadze and Minister Genscher. I would put it so: The Soviet Union has been emphasizing for some time—and this was also emphasized at this meeting—that Germany's presence in NATO is very difficult or even unacceptable for Soviet public opinion. But it assumes the possibility of changes also in NATO, of which NATO itself speaks, and it assumes, as Gorbachev put it, that there are different models of presence in NATO and that searching should go on. Well, I wouldn't be a pessimist, saying that they won't find some solution in these talks. I think that if this searching goes on all the time, we cannot rule out that this solution will be found. [End recording]

These were President Wojciech Jaruzelski's and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's first reflections from the Moscow session of the PCC of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

Mazowiecki, Skubiszewski, Jaruzelski Remarks

LD0806092690 Warsaw PAP in English 0035 GMT
8 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 7—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki as well as other members of a Polish delegation for a session of the Political Consultative Committee of states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow returned to Warsaw tonight.

Asked by newsmen at Okęcie Airport to evaluate the Moscow summit, Jaruzelski said that the course of the session had been favourable and in tune with expectations.

We are of the opinion that the treaty is still needed but it should be essentially reformed. Its functions and structures must keep up with the times. Apart from its traditional function the treaty becomes a more political body and also—maybe to a decisive degree—a plane for East-West dialogue, he stated.

As for German issues, we did not change our stand, which met with understanding. In my opinion our reasons were convincing, Jaruzelski stated.

Mazowiecki told journalists that in his view the meeting was very important because of two reasons. First, it was held after the Gorbachev-Bush summit. Second, the Warsaw Treaty met in this composition for the first time, he said.

In our address we underlined that one needs changes. The treaty should continue to exist but one should already now think about a European collective security system, he continued.

As regards the presence of the united Germany in the NATO, the Soviet Union stresses that it is very difficult or even impossible for Soviet public opinion to accept it. However, assuming possible changes in the NATO—and this organization itself speaks about them—and various models of one's presence in the NATO—as Gorbachev

said—I would not be a pessimist who thinks that no solution will be found, Mazowiecki told newsmen.

We had an opportunity to have a separate talk with President Gorbachev and Premier Ryzhkov. We also held a talk with the Czechoslovak president, and I had a long exchange of views with the GDR premier, he stated.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said: States which still belong to the Warsaw Treaty become members of various European organizations. Undoubtedly, a general and essential question arises: What the Warsaw Treaty still got to do? It remains a traditional alliance in line with the UN Charter, a purely defensive alliance deprived of other tasks, particularly ideological ones. In modern Europe the Treaty may cooperate with the NATO in some issues related to disarmament and confidence building.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Return From Moscow

LD0706203690 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 7—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as well as other members of the Polish delegation who took part in the Warsaw Treaty Moscow summit, returned to Warsaw this evening.

Three Homemade Bombs Explode in Gdansk

LD0706142390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Three homemade bombs exploded in Gdansk early this afternoon: The first at 1345 [1145 GMT] in the building of the Northern State Railways Directorate [DOKP], the second at 1400 [1200 GMT] in the toilet at the editorial offices of GLOS WYBRZEZA, and the third at 1425 [1245 GMT] near the Polish Air Lines ticket counters.

As we were informed by the officer on duty at the police headquarters, the bombs did not cause any serious material damage. Neither were there any fatalities.

At the DOKP headquarters and at the Press House, witnesses stated that they had seen the perpetrator throwing gas containers filled with iron filings.

Anarchist Group Claims Blasts

AI 0806082390 Paris AFP in English 0159 GMT
8 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 8 (AFP)—An anarchist group claimed responsibility for three bomb blasts that shook the Baltic port city of Gdansk Thursday [7 June] causing light damage but no casualties, Polish radio said.

The home-made devices exploded at the headquarters of the national railways, in a toilet at the regional newspaper GLOS WYBRZEZA, and an office of the national

airline LOT, which the "December 13 Independent Group" accused of taking Soviet Jews to Israel.

The group, named after the date in 1981 when President Wojciech Jaruzelski proclaimed a state of siege, also took part in a Molotov cocktail attack on the Soviet Embassy in Gdansk last Saturday, an informed source there said.

Thursday's bombings were the first since the Solidarity government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki came to power in September. Gdansk is the birthplace of the independent trade union.

The motives for the bombings, telephoned to GLOS WYBRZEZA, were confused. They included a recent 100-per-cent rise in train fares, anti-anarchist "slander" by the newspaper, and the "transportation of Soviet Jews to Israel."

Western Embassies' Treatment of Poles Criticized

AI 0706153590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 2-3 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Poles Are Also Human Beings"]

[Text] Members of the Polish Helsinki committee have written to Minister Skubiszewski about the treatment of Polish citizens at Western embassies: "It can be said that obligations stemming from the Vienna CSCE Final Document are being disregarded. We ask you to take vigorous action aimed at making it possible for Polish citizens to travel abroad in a way that will allow them to retain their feeling of personal dignity."

The committee has also appealed to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States as well as to other Helsinki committees, asking them to exert pressure on their governments.

The committee writes that these two states refuse visas to Poles particularly often. The U.S. Embassy turns down 60 percent of applications and the British Embassy in reality turns down more than the 12 percent of applications than it says it refuses. The French and Italian Embassies refuse to provide any information at all on this subject.

The members of the committee also wrote about the difficulties that are, in their opinion, the result of a deliberate policy toward Poles. They include:

- Prices of visas that in many cases exceed one-half of the average monthly wage in Poland; the British Embassy charges a high fee in advance that it does not return if the application is turned down.
- Many embassies take several weeks to reply (Australia—two months; Italy—five weeks), and one can wait for up to half a year to have an application dealt with by the U.S. Embassy.
- "The talks that applicants are invited to take the form of interrogations," is what we read in the letter about the practices of the Embassies of the United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

- There are numerous cases of visas being canceled by border officials in Greece, the United States, Great Britain, and the FRG.
- Polish tourists are treated roughly at the Greek and Austrian borders.

We asked Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to comment on the letter:

"The Foreign Ministry is aware of the problems that were raised in the

Economic Official Queried on GDR Relations

*LD0806051190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 7 Jun 90*

[Text] Anna Andrzejewska tries to discover what our interests in the GDR, which is still there, look like.

[Begin recording] [Andrzejewska] This afternoon Mr. Dariusz Ledworowski, deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, returned from the GDR where he had been holding economic talks. Minister, what does the future of our contacts look like?

[Ledworowski] Of fundamental importance to us are the conditions under which the implementation of our goods and services exchange is going to take place beginning 2 July this year. In February of this year we signed a protocol in transfer rubles, but the problem is that it will not be possible to implement many of these contracts on the terms we signed. This applies above all to construction. Our exports of construction services amount to about 35 percent of all we supply to the GDR. The GDR side, in connection with the change of currency, has informed the Polish side, just as it has all the CEMA countries, that it was canceling the agreement on the so-called noncommercial payments. Consequently all the costs connected with the implementation of construction projects of this kind will have to be borne in West German Marks. We know that if that is the case, this changes all the costs on which these agreements were based. In a sense it raises the price of the implementation outlay, and there is the question of renegotiating these agreements.

[Andrzejewska] Is it possible that after the GDR's breaking or canceling of the agreements we will not get a penny in compensation and that our specialists will be thrown out of there?

[Ledworowski] The GDR side states clearly that they want these agreements fully implemented and in connection with this they propose these contracts be implemented under the old conditions—that is, that they should be settled in transfer rubles. But as I have just said, the cost is changing, so they have to be valued and renegotiated, and that is the position of our side.

[Andrzejewska] What about the trade exchange?

[Ledworowski] Well, the exchange, as you know, is struggling along.

[Andrzejewski] Is it about to die from natural causes?

[Ledworowski] It is a problem. Going over to the hard currency transactions beginning 1 July [as heard] could indeed seriously reduce the level of this turnover, because imports, for instance, would become considerably more expensive, while the strong stimulation of exports which would be there for our exporters, of course, after the transfer to the Deutschmark, would not necessarily find purchase offers from the GDR side, which in the situation of the opening of the border is going to be under very strong and quick pressure from highly competitive West German goods. [end recording] letter. We share the views that were expressed in it. We are also familiar with the arguments that many countries put forward to justify hindering free travel by our citizens, such as there being Polish tourists who engage in illegal trade or work without permits.

"We believe that such arguments, important as they are, do not justify the restrictions. That is why the Foreign Ministry has made, and will continue to make, appropriate efforts so that the citizens of our country are not discriminated against and so that the principle of collective responsibility for the illegal actions of individuals or groups is not applied to them. The Helsinki Committee letter will provide significant assistance in further talks with our partners."

Parliamentarians, FRG Delegation Discuss Border

*LD0506222290 Warsaw PAP in English
2008 GMT 5 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun—A delegation of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee with Chairman Hans Stercken arrived in Poland on a three-day visit. Today the delegation was received by respective Sejm and Senate speakers Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski.

Kozakiewicz came out in favour of the Polish side's postulate on signing a treaty on border with Germany. In his opinion the identical resolution adopted by both German parliaments in this respect would be insufficient.

He pointed to economic problems that might appear, for instance GDR obligations towards Poland and the issue of Polish guest workers in that country. The FRG parliamentarians were of the opinion that those fears were not rational as the future united Germany would honour the commitments of both German states in relation to foreign countries.

The delegation's meeting with Stelmachowski focused on similar issues. Bundestag representatives stressed once more that the parliamentary resolution concerning borders would be binding for both German governments. However, the FRG is not interested in signing a separate peace treaty as a final document of the Second World War, they said.

Stelmachowski did not agree with the opinion that apart from the parliamentary resolution German states cannot

take a more unequivocal stand. Poland is afraid that state and legal settlements would be replaced with political declarations, he stated.

Economic Official Queried on GDR Relations

*LD0806051190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 7 Jun 90*

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exports which would be there for our exporters, of course, after the transfer to the Deutschmark, would not necessarily find purchase offers from the GDR side, which in the situation of the opening of the border is going to be under very strong and quick pressure from highly competitive West German goods. [end recording]

Accord With Norway on 'Investment Guarantees'

*LD0506214490 Warsaw PAP in English
1742 GMT 5 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun—Polish-Norwegian trade turnover has been moderate, said Vice-Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Janusz Kaczurba at a press conference today after a Polish-Norwegian economic forum here. But it proved that there were opportunities to increase economic cooperation in the shipbuilding and fuel industries and environmental protection, he added.

The forum, the first of this kind in the history of Polish-Norwegian post-war relations, showed great opportunities of economic cooperation between both countries by setting up joint ventures. This is served by an agreement on investment guarantees for Norwegian capital in Poland (and vice versa) signed Tuesday [5 June]. This practically means that, given political and economic stability in Poland, Norwegians will start investing in this country.

This is the first agreement of this kind that Norway signed with countries in Central Europe.
Further on Investment Agreements

*LD0506221290 Warsaw PAP in English
1953 GMT 5 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jun—Poland and Norway signed an intergovernment agreement on the promotion and mutual protection of investments during the third day of a visit paid to Poland by a Norwegian Government delegation headed by Secretary of State Kai Eide.

Head of the Norwegian delegation delivered a lecture at the Polish Institute of International Affairs today in which he named Poland as the birth place of new Europe and at the same time stated that the process of the unification of Germany is a difficult process bringing along doubts and uncertainty. Kai Eide devoted considerable attention also to problems of ecology in Europe.

In the afternoon, Kai Eide visited and electroengineering school named after the heroes of Narvik where he met with members of the Polish-Norwegian Friendship Society and with participants of the 1940 Battle for Narvik.

During a talk with the Norwegian secretary of state, members of the society expressed hope that the Norwegian-Polish Friendship Society, which discontinued its activities after Warsaw Treaty's intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, will soon be reactivated.

Agreement Signed With FRG on Labor Matters*LD0706231290 Warsaw PAP in English 1718 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, June 7—The two-day talks of Polish and West German labour ministers Jacek Kuron and Norbert Blum ended in the signing here today of agreements on employing staffers to improve professional and language skills, on cooperation between Polish and West German labour ministries in labour and social policy and in a joint statement on the principle of a new solution to inter-state relations in old-age pensions and accident insurances.

At his press conference, Minister Blum stressed that the signed documents would make it possible to create frameworks to exchange welfare experience and to set up structures of a sort of the administration of labour. They also create conditions for young people between 18 and 35 to improve professional and language learning skills. The documents are also a starting point to open talks on a new agreement between Polish and West German governments on old-age pensions and accident insurances.

Referring to the joint statement, Kuron said that it aimed primarily to defend the interests of Poles who went to West Germany. He added that Poland would have to negotiate a similar agreement with the USSR.

Vice Premier Jan Janowski received Minister Blum today and the West German guest left Poland this afternoon.

Walesa News Conference on Political Life*LD0706205190 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Gdansk, June 7—At today's press conference Solidarity leader Lech Walesa stated that his correspondence with Adam Michnik and Henryk Wujec had been confidential and leaks which had been the source for REUTERS must have taken place in Warsaw.

Walesa explained at length the motives for his recent moves, justifying them with the need to enrich and animate Polish political life. He spoke about the need to establish in Poland a democratic and pluralistic system not based on the charisma of individual politicians.

"The personal arrangement is the cause of our illness. All over the world ministers are recalled and nothing happens. As regards us, it is the reverse—one must not change anybody's position." Walesa called the current situation in Poland a result of the former system. He also mentioned future elections, stating that they will be held not later than in a year.

The Solidarity leader voiced his regret over the fact that such a small percentage of society participated in public life. He added that social climate was susceptible to unrest the manifestation of which had been the recent

strike of railwaymen. "Do not worry—there is always a war in democracy. Nevertheless, best solutions win," he stated.

Asked about Solidarity '80, Walesa said that if this organization felt linked with the Solidarity of 1980, it should not aim at splitting and taking the name away but at uniting with the union.

As always Walesa was non-committal as concerns questions about presidency. "It may happen that I will have no choice. For instance, if there are 500 parties in Poland and nothing can be done... However, I will not strive for it," Walesa said.

Daily on Walesa Statement, Wujec Dismissal*AU0706205790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 5 Jun 90 p 2*

["rak"-signed commentary]

[Text] Lech Walesa's lengthy statement prompts two important questions. In Friday's letter to Henryk Wujec, Walesa justified the dismissal in terms of "essential organizational changes." The reason for the changes was a new concept of the committee, which, according to Walesa, should "possess a broader political formula." It now transpires that the dismissal stems from Wujec being placed "in a position that is incompatible with the efficient functioning of the Citizens Committee and (in the opinion of experts) with the law."

Which motive is the true one?

We posed the second question in yesterday's GAZETA WYBORCZA and we have not found an answer to it in the statement published above. Did Lech Walesa dismiss Wujec in manner that is customary in a democracy, or was it done in the manner of an absolute monarchy?

Poll Taken on Support for Government, Walesa*LD0706214590 Warsaw PAP in English 1351 GMT
7 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, June 7: Asked on May 17-23 to size up the work of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government, 62.4 per cent of respondents of the public opinion research centre approved of it and every fifth (19.5 per cent), on the contrary, disapproved of it. The remaining 18 per cent did not have their opinion on this question.

The government work got the best mark in foreign policy (66.2 per cent of good marks).

If a conflict between the Mazowiecki Government and Lech Walesa took place, over 37 per cent of respondents would support the prime minister, 11.3 per cent the Solidarity leader and every third respondent would be neutral.

Court Meets To Register 'Solidarity-80'

LD0706225490 Warsaw PAP in English 1527 GMT
7 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 7—A court session to register the Solidarity-80 trade union was held at the Warsaw voivodship court today. The court told the applicants that the text of the statutes with hand-written corrections and numerous deletions, forwarded by them for registration, did not meet requirements of the court document.

The court voiced also its reservations as to several paragraphs of the statutes, stressing their incompatibility with the now binding trade union law. In this situation, the side applying for registration of Solidarity-80 asked the court to give it a 14-day deadline to prepare an answer to the reservations of the court. It complied with the request and adjourned the session.

The court at the same time told representatives of Solidarity-80 that also Lech Walesa's Solidarity in Gdansk, taking interest in the name of the union applying for registration, would be notified of a new day of the registration session of the court.

Solidarity-80 is a breakaway group led by Marian Jurczyk which parted from Lech Walesa's Solidarity union on the grounds that the latter no longer observed the principles of Solidarity formed in summer of 1980.

After the court session, several hundred members of Solidarity-80, carrying banners and chanting demands for the registration of the union, marched in a column from the building of courts at Swierczewski Street to Smolna Street, downtown Warsaw, where the headquarters of the union is. A brief rally was held at a junction of Nowy Swiat Street and Aleje Jerozolimskie Avenue where the union's leader Marian Jurczyk stressed the necessity of active struggle for the registration of the union and promoting workers rights.

Geremek for Adoption of Democratic Constitution

LD0606202190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Today the first meeting of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] since the self-government elections aroused great interest among journalists. In a speech lasting more than half an hour Professor Bronislaw Geremek, OKP chairman, spoke not only about the election results, but first and foremost attempted to assess the sociopolitical situation and the group's achievements during the last 12 months, as well as recalling the fundamental objectives that the OKP deputies and senators had set themselves.

[Geremek] Our group was the first to propose—the first parliamentary force and the first political force—a certain program concerning the political timetable. We proposed that as the process of changes which are taking place on the public stage proceeds, the Polish parliament's term of office be cut by half. We proposed a

program which presented a timetable under which no later—and I emphasize, no later—than 3 May 1991 Poland would have a new constitution, a new parliament, a new government, and a new president.

I get the impression that some people have created a potential subject of conflict out of the first issue, the issue of the constitution and the position of the constitution in the timetable. We have defined this as our program. We do not want makeshift things. We want clear and lasting solutions. And one such solution would be the adoption by the Sejm and the Senate of a democratic constitution. By the Sejm and the Senate.

I think that in doing their work the Senate Constitutional Commission and the Sejm Constitutional Commission should obtain a decision from the deputies' chamber about changing, amending Article 106 of the Constitution [under which constitutional amendments are a prerogative of the Sejm], so that constitutional changes are decided by the National Assembly—that is both, combined changes of the Polish parliament. And I think that right now it is already beginning to look possible that within constitutional changes we may also find an answer to the issue of supreme authorities of the state—that is, the role and powers of the president, the role and powers of the government, the role and powers of parliament—so that we are at the same time able to define a document which would be a constitution for the next century.

[Announcer] Support for the government, which is our government, does not preclude a critical attitude toward some representatives of the government and some government decisions, Bronislaw Geremek stated.

Speaking about attempts to split the OKP from the citizens' movement, Prof Geremek asked: Who is supposed to be doing this and by what right? The OKP exists only on the basis of its voters' decision. We were put in parliament by the Solidarity movement and the citizens' committees. We are indebted to them and we have to know how to repay this debt, the OKP chairman said. Speaking about the bonds between the citizens' committees and the OKP, Bronislaw Geremek noted that these are natural bonds. The bond between the OKP and Solidarity is an equally intimate bond, and in spite of political games both these intimate bonds will prevail, the OKP chairman declared.

In the discussion Deputy Anna Urbanowicz demanded, among other things, that all the secrets of the meetings and arrangements in Magdalenka [behind the scenes venue during roundtable talks] be revealed. According to Bronislaw Geremek, in order to clear the air and avoid misunderstandings, shorthand records from the meetings in Magdalenka, which are probably held by the then government side and the Episcopate, should be published.

Senators and deputies also proposed that a meeting between the OKP and Lech Walesa be organized. It was decided that the presidium of the group will renew its invitation to Lech Walesa.

Groups Contesting Local Elections Surveyed*PM0606084690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
12 May 90 p 7*

[Marek Henzler article: "Candidates and Coalitions: No More Elections to One Scenario"]

[Text] "We will wake up in a different country on the morning of 28 May," General Election Commissioner Jerzy Stepień assured us. The dividing point in time is the date of the local self-government elections—the first fully democratic elections for decades—after which citizens will take local government firmly in their own, and their representatives', hands.

The hour of midnight on 27 April marked the first deadline for submitting candidates' lists to election commissions.

Solidarity Citizens' Committees were the first to complete this stage of the election campaign, particularly in localities where there were no conflicts over which election committee is the "true" one. The work of the Committees was made easier by their experience with last year's June election campaign, the earlier launching date of the present campaign, and the current profile of the authorities in power. This is why they had the decisive say when it came to appointments to election commissions and offices and also in the matter of dividing parishes and cities into electoral wards—which even resulted in complaints that the currently most powerful political force was actually drawing up an electoral map to suit its own political purposes.

As I write these words it is already 6 May, but it is still not known how many candidates have been proposed for councillors. There are 52,028 positions to fill. In quite a few electoral wards, especially in larger cities, even up to 10 candidates to one councillor's seat were put up, but at the same time, according to the still incomplete figures (despite the setting of a second deadline for putting up candidates), only one candidate per ward was put up in 2734 wards, whereas in 636 wards no candidates' names were submitted at all. Most of these wards are concentrated in the Krosno, Warsaw, Szczecin, Siedlce, Tarnobrzeg, and Skierniewice voivodships. They are, as a rule, single-seat rural wards.

By 6 May the computers at the office of the general commissioner for the elections recorded 470 so-called "public entities" which have submitted candidates' lists—that is, political parties and associations, public organizations, creative art associations, local residents' committees, sports clubs, various leisure activity clubs, and so on. Some of them submitted their candidates' lists in every single voivodship; others only in select ones. A fuller picture of all the political and social forces which stood to contend in the elections will not be completed until a couple of weeks from now.

Certain parties and organizations decided to run in the elections on their own. They want to prove themselves in the election battle under their own flags, treating this as a trial run before the expected parliamentary elections.

Some of them also chose this course of action because they are afraid of losing their ideological identity if they join forces in a coalition with other parties or organizations. Others still treat their individual standing as an opportunity for a free promotion of their political programs, since the general election commissioner has contracted quite a considerable amount of air time in radio and television networks for the election propaganda campaign.

Many of the weaker, or even already reasonably strong, parties which want to compete with Citizens' Committees—which they accuse of an ambition to create a new political monopoly—have set up a number of different election alliances. There are about 100 such coalitions. The earliest one was the "peasants and people alliance," that is, the coalition between the Polish Peasant Association "Rebirth" [PSL "O"] and the National Party [SN], but alliances "between faith and business" are equally frequent—for example, between the Union for Real Policies [UPR], the Labor Party [SP], and the Christian-National Union [ZChN]—as are the "independence" alliances (Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the "Independence" Liberal-Democratic Party, and "Fighting Solidarity"), center blocs (PSL and the Democratic Party [SD]), and a variety of leftwing alliances (mainly the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] and the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] unionists.) If we take a look at the larger parties, we will see that, for example, the SdRP put up its lists in 48 voivodships; the Christian Social Association PAX in 31; the UPR in 10; the Christian Democratic Labor Association in 15; the ZChN in 20; the Polish Catholic Social Union [PZKS] in 13; the KPN in 38; the SN in 11; the Polish National Party [PSN] in two; the Polish Social Democratic Union in nine; the PSL in 46. These figures are still incomplete and unofficial.

Other organizations apart from political parties and associations also put up candidates' names. In addition, individual persons submitted their own candidacy, after collecting the required number of supporting signatures, of course. There are many candidates' lists submitted by, say, voluntary fire brigades (in 15 voivodships), local residents' associations, hunting clubs, catholic intelligentsia clubs (in nine voivodships), housing cooperatives, the Liturgical Altar Service (Gdansk Voivodship), the Ancient Families of Kielce Association, or the "Eighth Force" Zielona Gora Old Town Conglomerate of Optimists.

Can we already state what political configurations have formed and where? What programs have been adopted by the parties and organizations contending in the elections? Today it is still impossible. However, as we watch the preparations for the elections, it is easy to receive the impression that in the initial stage their predominant objective was to find the candidates for local government councillors and create electoral alliances, and the question of election programs necessarily took a second place in these preparations. To this day, certain groups have failed to announce their programs. However, one thing is certain: The days when elections were run according to a

preordained political, organizational, and programmatic scenario are over. This is evident from information that keeps coming in from selected voivodships.

One of the earliest electoral coalitions to be set up was the Peasant-National Election Committee in Krosno, appointed by the PSL, PSL "O," Polish National Party, KPN, NSZZ Rural Solidarity, NSZZ Solidarity 80 and Agricultural Circles Association. These parties and organizations shared their dissatisfaction with the personnel policy practised in the Krosno Voivodship, whereby candidates from Citizens' Committees were selected in preference to others. Among other things, the Committee declares itself in support of splitting up State Agricultural Farms and the Igloopol concern and turning the land over to local farmers and Polish settlers. It also took a position against drafting peasants' sons to alternative military service.

In Lubaczow, there are 71 candidates to the 22 seats on the Council, including some from the Independent Forum for Private Business, who declared that they were interested in furthering the city's interests rather than their own. For themselves, they only wanted to make sure that they "would never be treated like the necessary evil, forced to act covertly, and be ashamed of being successful."

In Gdansk the Liberals' Congress, the Kaszubia-Pomerania Association, The Young Poland Movement, and the ZChN set up an Alliance for Gdansk's Interests. This is intended to be an alliance of people and communities rather than organizations, to speak and act for a free market and "capitalism with a human face."

In Lodz, candidates from 16 groups are contending for 80 seats. All attempts to achieve an agreement between the Voivodship Citizens' Committee [WKO] "S" [Solidarity] and the Lodz Citizens' Alliance [LPO] have failed, and each of these two groups submitted a separate list of candidates, having previously signed an official undertaking—endorsed by Andrzej Slowik, head of Solidarity's Regional Board—in which they promised that they would refrain from using Solidarity's name or logo in the electoral campaign, though both of these (now) warring structures have their origins in the same Solidarity organization.

The LPO accuses the WKO (which is composed largely of enterprise Solidarity activists) of having a supposedly leftwing tenor. In turn, the WKO suggests that LPO candidates represent in the main the former as well as the new establishment (the mayor and deputy mayor of Lodz; commandant of the Scouting Union of the Republic [ZHR] corps; director of Lodz Television; the deputy dean of the Lodz Chamber of Barristers, and so on). The LPO itself is described as a center-right bloc which comprises 15 KPN candidates, 15 ZChN candidates, eight SP candidates, three candidates representing the Polish Green Party [PPZ], two from the Conservative Club, and so on).

The SdRP has put up its own, 71-strong list in Lodz, aspiring to create an alternative option to these blocs [WKO and LPO], since in its opinion they both represent a "rightwing" orientation. The Lodz branch of PPS has put up a candidates' list comprising 17 names, whereas the PSL intends to enter the election campaign in coalition with the nationalists.

Though these are only local government elections, certain parties are using "big politics" slogans in their skirmishes with others. Thus, for example, residents of Lomza will be able to choose between the local KPN which asserts that "the Polish state is threatened by the Soviet Union and its army (...). We demand the withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from Poland and the withdrawal of Poland from the Warsaw Treaty Organization," and the local SN, which claims that "Poland is threatened by the German nation. Our foreign policy should be anti-German and oriented toward the Soviet peoples (...). SN members declare in favor of Soviet Armed Forces' remaining in Poland and demand a strong, national army of our own."

The ethnic minorities in Poland do not intend to stand on the sidelines in these elections. The Social and Cultural Society of the German Minority in the Opole Voivodship has put up its own candidates' list. In the Bialystok voivodship, the recently established Belorussian Democratic Union initiated the setting-up of Belorussian election committees. In certain places these entered into coalition with Polish communities, but in Bialystok itself, for example, the Belorussian Election Committee put up 16 candidates of its own, in addition to 12 candidates in Hajnowka (all these have been endorsed by the Orthodox Fraternity, which operates in association with the local Orthodox Archbishop Sawa.) Among other things, the Belorussian election program proposes the regionalization of agricultural policy and the establishment of Belorussian language schools (as opposed to schools with Belorussian as one of the language courses available on the curriculum) as well as Belorussianization of the life of the local communities (all public signs in two languages; Belorussian as the second official language).

The Ukrainian minority has also begun to organize itself. A Ukrainian Citizens' Committee was even set up in Gorow Ilawiecki in the Olsztyn Voivodship. However, since the Committee is in favor of the local communities' integration rather than their fragmentation, it put up its candidates on a joint list with the local Polish Citizens' Committee.

In Szczecin there are some 200 candidates to 60 councillors' seats. Out of these, 60 were put forward by the Solidarity Citizens' Conciliation Committee. Only four of these did not go beyond high school education. The rest are all graduates, several of them with doctorates; there is one university professor. Most of them are employed as economists, graduate engineers, and teachers.

There are several coalitions prepared to fight these candidates in the elections. The Working Peoples' Open Electoral Alliance "Alternative Option 90" was set up by the OPZZ trade unions, SdRP, Polish Women's League, and other organizations and associations which once enjoyed the support of the former power elite. "Alternative Option 90" places its bets today on candidates who are competent and honest and sensitive to social injustice and human suffering, because, according to its signatories, these qualities are at present more important than the political views held by the future councillors or their party affiliation.

The Democratic Forum was set up by the "Free and Loyal" Political Club, the KPN, the "Independence" Liberal-Democratic Party, the Polish Independence Party, ZChN, SN, the Independent Action group, and also the Polish Green Party, and—somewhat surprisingly—PPS, which appears to be strangely at ease in this center-right and rightwing company. One of its Szczecin leaders is Edmund Baluka, leader of the December 1970 strike, an emigre who has once again returned to Poland.

The Democratic Forum signatories are worried about the "Citizens' Committees' cooperation with communists (now turned social democrats and the like)," and this is why, to quote their declaration document, councillors representing the Democratic Forum will "strive to eliminate all vestiges of communism from all areas under local government authority." They want to gain control over the local radio and television broadcasting station and place the police force under the municipal authorities' control (with the exception of the criminal department.) They are in favor of establishing legislative and financial control over the Soviet forces' presence in the region, carrying out a revision of the German-Polish agreement on the Szczecin-Swinoujscie waterway, and launching the construction of a freeway connecting Szczecin with southern Europe. They also declare they will support private businesses, help citizens who are "economically weak," and protect the ecology of the region.

Separate lists of candidates for councillors were also put up by the Alliance for Szczecin's Interests, which comprises private businessmen and members of the liberal intelligentsia; other lists were submitted by the SD, the Christian Democratic Union [UChS], and the UPR. There are also candidates who will make a bid for councillors' seats as individual contenders.

As we examine the lists submitted, we can see that virtually no local communities put up lists that would reflect the government coalition, nor have the Citizens' Committees entered into alliance with the PSL or the SD. Moreover, it is only rarely that joint electoral lists represent political forces united within the Sejm's Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP]. Despite the fact that the SP, the ZChN, the KPN, and the liberals are represented in the Sejm's OKP, in the local elections as a rule they either run as individual public bodies or have set up separate rightwing-Christian and independence-oriented election blocs. On the other hand, we can see that

occasionally the presence of PPS representatives is tolerated on the lists submitted by Citizens' Committees.

There are not many candidates put up by former associations of lay Catholics (PAX, UChS, and PZKS), or the "old" youth organizations (Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], Polish Scout Union [ZHP], Polish Students Association [ZSP], and Rural Youth Union [ZMW]). With the demise of the familiar "electoral scenario" and the old electoral law, these bodies appear to have lost their faith in being able to win any significant number of councillors' seats in normal open political contest.

The local government elections will provide public opinion survey centers with an opportunity to improve their reputation, impaired as it is by the excessively optimistic forecasts (optimistic, that is, for the previous government team) which they prepared before last year's Sejm and Senate elections. According to the research published by the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS] in April, as many as 72.6 percent of citizens intended to cast their votes, whereas the Center for Public Opinion Research [OBOP] estimated that 60 percent would vote.

The OBOP even attempted to investigate voters' political preferences in greater detail. Candidates put up by the Solidarity Citizens' Committees can count on attracting 42 percent of votes. Representatives of peasant parties and associations will get seven percent. The SD and the social democratic groups descended from the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] could get two percent each (however, the SdRP and Tadeusz Fiszbach's Union [Polish Social Democratic Union]) have failed to set up an alliance anywhere). The KPN and the various shades of Greens will be supported by one percent of voters. The remaining 40 or 50 other parties and mini-parties will not attract even as much as one percent of the electorate's votes when put together.

However, the essential thing is that some 40 percent of those who do intend to vote are still uncertain about who to vote for. Consequently the later stages of the electoral campaign will be fought for the support of the undecided and to attract those who now say that they will not take part in the elections.

Najder Argues Case for Fall Elections

AU0706110690 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 4 Jun 90 p 3

[Zdislaw Najder article: "Acceleration and Stability"]

[Text] The Polish political scene is becoming less and less peaceful. I do not think that those who attribute the upsurge in activity to activists' personal ambitions or impatience are right. The railroad workers' strike—and wage demands were not the main reason for it—should have made it clear to everyone that an increased mood of bitterness and protest was not Lech Walesa's invention. The reactions to Walesa's statements call to mind the saying about smashing the thermometer that indicates

too high a temperature. His words were clumsy, ambiguous, and too strong (although, even more often, they were taken out of context and distorted), but they signaled a keen awareness of public feeling and not just the feelings of the speaker. The election turnout, which was so strikingly at variance with the forecasts of various research institutions (the very same institutions that so neatly arrange our politicians in order of popularity) showed that apathy and despondency were also not just the fabric of someone's imagination. This apathy is not an expression of calm: On the contrary, it is something unhealthy and threatens to turn into a backlash of discontent.

Unfortunately, signs of greater activity and the launching of new initiatives with varying degrees of skill are still viewed in terms of a set pattern in our country. It is as if we were still living under a communist system and if the old black-and-white division into supporters and opponents of the authorities still applied. Criticism of government actions (or, more frequently, of a lack of action on the part of the government) is perceived as an attack on the government. The efforts of political circles to define themselves more precisely are perceived as breaking up a common front (against whom?). Articulating the feelings of the silent masses is perceived as populism. However, what we are trying to create in Poland is a system of open parliamentary democracy—government that is based on representation, and government that is responsible to the nation. In countries in which this kind of system exists, ministers are not only criticized by the opposition, but also by activists in their own party, and this is in no way synonymous with wanting to bring down a government or even with the wish to see a particular minister changed. A governing party often wants to strengthen itself through such criticism: Mistakes are pointed out so that they can be rectified, and so that one wins recognition from voters for talking about an unpleasant truth openly.

However, in Poland things are different. Many Western observers also treat us as if we were political cavemen, describing the situation in Poland in categories appropriate to nondemocratic societies. He who is not completely "for" is considered to be completely "against," and Lech Walesa is branded a "populist" and a "Personist," as he was by a commentator for the Italian REPUBBLICA whose rather fatuous article was reprinted by RZECZPOSPOLITA. It is a nice kind of "populist" who puts out strikes and sets people to work.

Politics in today's Poland is so much about personalities that problems disappear behind persons and programs cannot be seen for group interests. That is why an issue of first-rank importance—that is, the continuation of Premier Mazowiecki's government—is usually viewed in terms of personalities and prestige.

I think that this has to be rethought. I am convinced that the "healthy core" of the cabinet headed by Premier Mazowiecki deserves to be able to govern Poland for a few more years. I consider it even more important that

Poland be assured continued political stability for a few more years without any sudden shifts or upheavals. How can we ensure this?

There are two aspects to stability: the internal and the external. The government can be stable if it is uniform and is seen to be uniform. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's present government is a government that lacks political cohesion, if only because its composition reflects the compromise that was agreed a year ago with forces that no longer exist today. This lack of cohesion, which practically paralyzes the changes that have been announced in more than one ministry, is felt increasingly keenly by society: The railroad workers strike provided painful proof of this. The longer this state of affairs continues, the more difficult it will be to recover the confidence that the government is losing and support for its course will become increasingly less certain.

The second aspect is the relationship between the government and parliament. Here the present situation is also shaky. The government does not have a secure majority in the Sejm, and the low number of "Solidarity" deputies coupled with the fact that many of them are burdened with other state functions makes the work of the Sejm commissions very difficult and delays the legislative process. Lately, the former ruling coalition has been showing signs of increased animation and this coalition has a potential majority in the Sejm and could effectively block any legislation that it does not like. The continuation of the present status quo undermines the stability of Mazowiecki's government.

In every "normal" democratic state the leader of the party that enjoys real popularity attempts to use this support in order to prolong—within the legal framework—its period in office. One calls an early election in order to gain the mandate for the next few years. Why not do this in Poland? All the more so, given that the present Sejm is a caricature as regards two-thirds of its composition and its continued existence must have a demoralizing effect on the public that it is supposed to represent.

Against this, one usually hears two arguments. The first one is that one has to prepare for this, and in the meantime there are more pressing matters. The second is that one should not exacerbate the process of economic reforms, a process that is already painful for society.

The first of these arguments is weak. After Poland regained its independence in 1918 it managed to organize elections within the space of three months, despite the ongoing wars on our borders. It was able to do this despite the 123 years of being partitioned! As for the second argument, it merits closer scrutiny. The conclusions that emerge might be surprisingly different?

I consider it a highly dangerous delusion to maintain that the program of restructuring our economy will be proved correct (or wrong) within 15 months. The sort of reconstruction that we are implementing is being tried for the first time in the world. It is difficult, therefore, to say

anything about it with any certainty. It is more realistic to listen to the experts who are talking of a minimum of three years, who advise that certain essential corrective steps will have to be implemented, and caution that we will have to wait for another three years to see any visible signs of improvement. From this it is clear that the economic situation in spring 1991 will be no better than it is today, but the social situation will be worse because it will reflect the greater tiredness of the masses, unemployment, less patience and hope (already running out today), and it will be much more difficult for the electorate to make clear decisions and easier for demagogues to foment an atmosphere of increasing demands.

We must take another element into consideration—namely, our foreign relations. At this moment, the international atmosphere favors stability and internal calm. However, we cannot count on this continuing. Recently, the talks on the limitation of conventional weapons have come to a halt, and there appears to be a stalemate about united Germany's membership in NATO. In Germany itself it is openly said that there should be an acceleration of tempo toward unification in order to benefit from the favorable international situation. Any disturbance of this situation—for example, the almost probable internal upheavals in the Soviet Union—will make it more difficult for us to carry on with our internal transformations. I cite words that I wrote four months ago: "It is a matter of uniting and tuning our state apparatus so that it can ensure that the Polish Republic is able to withstand shocks which may come from abroad." I think that this objective has become even more pressing today. To call parliamentary elections in the face of upheavals beyond our longest border will be all the more difficult.

One more thing, it was being said recently in Poland that leveling accusations against the government and calls for accelerating reforms had the effect of frightening off foreign investors. There is some truth in this, but

surely—and I repeat, surely—these accusations come because of mistakes that are being made, for example, in agricultural policies and the tax system, and not for any other reason. More important, I know from many sources that our inconsistencies, inefficiencies, and organizational chaos do us much more harm in this respect, and it is these elements that cause Western politicians and commentators to talk about Hungary and Czechoslovakia as the most likely candidates to be admitted to the various European political and economic structures, while at the same time proclaiming their amazement at the daring nature of the Polish reforms.

I do not doubt that our authorities know of many elements of the internal and external situation, elements that remain obscured even to the sharpest observers of the Polish political scene. However, I remain convinced that the preservation of the initiative by the government, so that it does not have to retreat in the face of exigencies and mounting tensions, and remains capable of dictating the Polish political calendar, would be a very precious thing in itself. That is why I do not advance my own programs, or call for elections to be held at any particular time. I am merely encouraging people to consider: Would not bringing forward the parliamentary elections to be held this fall be the most certain way of gaining the much-needed political stability?

P.S. Since February, when I returned to Poland, I have written many times of the need to unify the government apparatus and bring forward parliamentary elections. My views met many obstacles and misunderstandings, especially in government circles. After the local elections I decided to put my arguments forward once again. From Zbigniew Brzezinski I learned that he himself had put forward similar views during his stay in Poland. I forwarded the text of my article to *RZECZPOSPOLITA* on 28 May, but it chose not to print it.

Iliescu Interviewed on Return From Moscow

AU0706201190 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1900 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] A meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member States took place today in Moscow, with the participation of their heads of states and government, foreign ministers, and defense minister. On his return to Bucharest, President Ion Iliescu made the following statement to our radio station.

[Begin Iliescu recording] All participants thought that this meeting was special. It is the first meeting of the Consultative Political Committee since the dramatic and radical changes that have taken place in all eastern countries, in the framework of overall changes that are occurring in all countries in Europe. The discussion focused on the need for changes and for the appropriate adjustment of the Warsaw Pact to the changes occurring in today's world, namely the need to turn the pact from a predominantly or primarily military alliance into a predominantly political organization, which can facilitate the processes under way in Europe and can contribute to expanding the security framework at the level of the whole continent. This is a complex process, which implies changes in both alliances, changes that are also linked to the process of German unification and to the changes in the political life of the European states. Consequently, it is necessary to create a joint, all-European foundation for a new kind of relations among all European states. In this respect, one should pay greater importance to the CSCE and to the institutionalization of some of its institutions, as a new framework capable of facilitating this process at European level.

This meeting, which was attended by all heads of state, was an opportunity for talks and contacts with all heads of state. Gorbachev wanted to have this first meeting with me—well, to appease the curiosity of all those who circulated all kinds of fables. I would like to spell out that this is our first meeting. As a matter of fact, we became acquainted, for the first time ever, Gorbachev and I. This happened during a break in the meeting. We met, shared some mutual impressions, and briefed each other on problems we both face. On this occasion, we expressed the mutual desire to consolidate our cooperation, on new and healthy bases of full equality of rights. [end recording]

Steps To Stop 'Exodus' of German Ethnic Minority

AU0706163590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 31 May 90 p 6

[Editorial note: "Will the Exodus of Germans From Romania Continue?"]

[Text] News coming from Bonn seems to confirm reports from international news agencies which say that the exodus of ethnic Germans from Romania to the FRG will continue. Thus, some 500 to 1,000 Romanians of

German origin continue to arrive every day at a transition camp in Nuremberg. One of the reasons for this exodus is their fear that beginning on 1 July the procedure for their leaving for the FRG will be more difficult. To counteract this exodus, West German information centers will soon be set up in Timisoara, Sibiu, Brasov, and probably in other towns, to grant assistance to Romanians of German origin not to emigrate, but to improve their life in their motherland. It is known that, except for the years of the communist dictatorship, the Germans in Romania were not subjected to suffering on the part of the authorities or the Romanian populace. On the contrary, they were appreciated for their hard work, correctness, and inventiveness, and there was consensus on the fact that Romania trusts its citizens of German origin and that the Germans in Romania trust the country in which they were born.

Western Investors Approached To Boost Tourism

AU0706120190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0939 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/6/1990—Romania initiated contacts with the American firms "Sheraton" and "Hilton" as well as with other foreign companies for the building of hotels and the modernization of some of the existing ones, said Mr. Mircea Manole, minister of tourism.

We are ready to sign a contract with the French firm "Pullman" on the building of a hotel complex near the exhibition pavilions in Free Press Square, meant for businessmen and tourists, the minister also said.

Romania intends thus to raise the standard of the tourism it practices at a European level. We shall draw Western capital and private investors to increase the economic efficiency of this activity. We shall encourage them to build minihotels in attractive areas. Mr. Manole stated highlighting that this year new tourist spots and recreational areas will be created benefiting by Romania's natural conditions on the Azuga Valley, in the Apuseni mountains, Deva zone, northern Transylvania and in Moldova. The principal tourist areas will be supplied with indigenous and imported commodities, while night life will adjust to the European standards through various entertainment programmes. Several casinos will be opened at Constanta, Sinaia and Poiana Brasov.

Bulgarian Charges on Giurgiu Pollution Refuted

AU0706190790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1739 GMT 7 Jun 90

["Statement by Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/6/1990—In connection with some news items recently printed in the Bulgarian press according to which the area around the town of Ruse had been polluted by chlorine from the chemical

combine in Giurgiu, Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is empowered to state:

The chlorine production at the Chemical Combine in Giurgiu was interrupted in July 1988. The system of supervising the air quality in Giurgiu have not recorded any concentration rises, the analyses bulletins being at the disposal of all those interested. The combine's chlorine warehouse, at 4 km north of the Danube, is seismically ensured and provided with emergency systems.

Referring to the approach made to Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Bulgarian ambassador to Bucharest on June 1, 1990 who proposed in a verbal message of the Bulgarian prime minister addressed to Premier Roman "immediate meetings on a political and experts level to debate, on a fair and dignified basis, the pollution question and to lead to concrete measures for removing the causes of such phenomena," the statement by Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs specifies:

Deep surprise was expressed in connection with that approach, because the Romanian side has carried out many actions to initiate a governmental dialogue, also materialized by the letter the Romanian minister of waters, forests and environment sent to his Bulgarian counterpart which included the former's proposal for such a meeting and his invitation to Bucharest for talks. Last days the invitation was made again.

In his answer to the Bulgarian prime minister's verbal message, Romania's prime minister reiterated the Romanian side's disponibility to host the proposed dialogue between the relevant ministries, and it was specified that the competent bodies in Romania had taken firm measures to avoid any polluting phenomena.

Bucharest Republican Party Excludes Officials

AU0606213290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1939 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/6/1990—Following a meeting to analyze its activity until the May 20 elections, the Bucharest branch of the Republican Party decided to exclude from that party the secretary-general and one of the vice-presidents of the Bucharest branch because of their deeds and attitudes incompatible with its centre-oriented policy, announced that party's press bureau.

The communique also specifies that the Bucharest branch espoused the resolution of the party conference according to which it is no longer part of the Romanian Unity Alliance. In the May 20 elections this group won 2.12 percent of the votes.

NPCDP Leaders Distance Selves From Communique

AU0606142490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1300 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] In connection with a communique of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [NPCDP]

bearing the stamp of that political formation and two signatures, one of which appeared to belong to Ion Radoi—a communique which was released this morning—we received at noon another communique from the same party signed this time by that party's president, Corneliu Coposu, and by its general secretary, Ioan Lup. The NPCDP leadership, the communique emphasizes, taking note that in the morning of 6 June a communique was released announcing a change in the party leadership and the setting up of a directorate, declares as follows:

The given communique, which also includes the names of some members of the party leadership without their consent, is a misrepresentation masterminded from outside the party, in cooperation with a group of young people that was dissolved because of poor discipline and immorality on 31 May 1990. The offenders will bear the consequences stipulated by the party statute and the current laws. The NPCDP members, the press, radio, television, and the public are informed that any valid communique has to be signed by the party's president, Mr. Corneliu Coposu and the party secretariat.

Former CP Leaders To Be Tried on 21 Jul

AU0806071790 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0700 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal has set 21 July at 0900 [0600 GMT] as the date for the trial of the 24 defendants—former full and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee and one of the former secretaries of the former Central Committee.

Court Validates Iliescu's Election as President

AU0706165090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1410 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/6/1990—On May 7, the Supreme Court of Justice unanimously validated Mr. Ion Iliescu's election as president of Romania.

Prosecutors No Longer Involved in Politics

AU0406181690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1619 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1990—Our activity is no longer subordinated to other bodies and organisms and we work by the law and our conscience alone big steps being made towards observing the separation of powers in state. We are no longer involved in politics, states Justice Colonel Mugurel Florescu, head of the Military Courts' Department, deputy prosecutor general of Romania, in an interview for DIMINEATA daily.

Important measures have been taken to replace from leading offices staff that had or could have had any connection with the former nomenklatura. As for the prosecutor's office the questions related to the participation in administering justice are solved "more democratically by the prosecutors' collegium, a new body set up after the revolution."

We can eliminate any influence, pressure or interference in our activity: evidence is the only thing that matters, says Mr. Florescu. We still encounter great difficulties in finalizing the penal inquiries which we call "of the revolution" and "we still need a more substantial support from the participants in the revolution who can help us in holding responsible all those involved in the repression we've gotten used to call terrorism."

Campeanu on Privatization, Constructive Opposition

AU0606213190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1905 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/6/1990—The National Liberal Party [NLP] wants privatization and through it the consecration of the right to private property in the Romanian society, stated on Wednesday Mr. Radu Campeanu, that party's president, during a press conference with foreign and Romanian journalists held at the Foreign Press Club in Bucharest and devoted mainly to the economic issues from a liberal point of view.

"This does not mean that we shall pass to privatization suddenly," We wish, the speaker said, "to create firstly the economic and social conditions for a private economic sector be created in Romania alongside of a public one and the enterprises work by the market economy principles." The private sector "will absorb a great part of the spare work force, of the unemployed" whose number according to the data supplied by the Ministry of Labour is about 480,000 persons and will sell on the market "the goods required by the population."

The privatization of the large industrial complexes is a difficult problem "which we want to make slowly and function of each case. Now it is impossible to offer definitive solutions" to that end, Mr. R. Campeanu said. The National Liberal Party starts from the fact that the large enterprises are working at about 70 percent of their capacity, while their equipment are old. He specified that 25-30 percent of the Romanian industry may remain in the state's ownership, while the rest be privatized.

Retehnologization of the great industry can be made in several ways; in the National Liberal Party's point of view, the first way would be to resort to foreign capital which, besides the support for retechnologization, should pledge to sell the respective products on the world market the investing foreign company has. Anyhow, the National Liberal Party maintains its stand that a certain control over the foreign capital invested in Romania be preserved.

Romania offers great possibilities to foreign investors, the NLP president considers, to obtain benefits in short periods of time especially in agricultural and food sector and in tourism.

NLP President Radu Campeanu, who got over ten percent of the votes during the presidential elections of

20 May, reiterated on Wednesday at a news conference, the attitude of "constructive opposition" he is to adopt "not by criticizing systematically, but only when necessary, advancing proposals of broad reforms pursuing the liberalization of the national economy."

He showed that "he did not think a proposal could be made regarding the participation of the NLP in a government coalition, nor that such a proposal could be accepted, given the results of the 20 May elections. A government coalition, as Mr. Iliescu said, could be made with various parties "expressions" of the NSF [National Salvation Front], but that is not an authentic coalition. Nevertheless, I hope that, within the opposition, many parliamentarians on the NSF list may have different opinions."

At the 20 May elections, the National Liberal Party won 38 of the 325 seats of Romania's bicameral Parliament.

Mr. Campeanu also assessed that the Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations "influenced to a certain extent Romania's links with the two states" as they promote a "planetary" policy. We will see if this influence is beneficial," he said.

*** 'Moral Bankruptcy' of Campeanu Alleged**

90BA0135A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian
23 May 90 p 2

[Ion Stefan article: "Moral Bankruptcy"]

[Text] The Romanian people have spoken. Quietly, firmly, and as it has been very aptly said, with a solemn air. This last description, solemn, is not out of place and we can be glad it was said, because it correctly describes the behavior of the voters, for whom the very act of voting is not common. We would even say that it has not been desanctified as is the case in so many countries in which frequent elections are at times met with reservations, if not downright boredom. As we were able to notice in person or on television, the Romanian approached the ballot box with determination mixed with a certain shyness, like at a solemn moment in his life.

As in any festivity, there have also been some "trouble-fetes" [spoil sports] as the French say (to make it clearer), some feasters who did not manage to shed their enduring spite. At wedding feasts in the country there may sometimes be one such spurned beau who, sitting at the table with his luckier rival and drunk on wedding wine, will pull out a knife. Messers. Campeanu and Ratiu pulled out the blunter knife of slander. Mr. Ratiu, a better psychologist, who has long grasped that the people's love for him has fairly narrow limits, stayed with his old statements and said that the low returns won by himself and his party were due to "terror." He sees terror wherever there are no Peasant Party members. We, on the other hand, see—to use leftist Popescu's expression in "Two Lots"—exactly "vice versa."

As for Mr. Campeanu, I hope he doesn't mind us saying so, but his reaction was disappointing and needs, we think, an explanation. Unfortunately, Mr. Campeanu managed to confirm some of our older apprehensions, which we had only half uttered. Mr. Campeanu spoke Romanian, but in good French, about "malversations" (fraud), but he didn't explain too clearly what kind of "malversations." In any event, it seems that in his imagination he saw Romanians running around all night with ballot boxes in their arms, directed by diabolical traffic policemen.

All good and well, but Mr. Campeanu made a serious tactical mistake in that he spoke too soon. What really happened? What had been announced late Sunday night were the results of an exit poll conducted by a German institute in cooperation with IRSOP [Romanian Polling Institute]. The ballots had not been counted, the counting had not even started. To have spoken about fraud at that time showed dishonest intentions. If the poll was not right and Mr. Campeanu came out the winner in the election, will he continue to contest the elections? I assure you, he won't.

The reason for his hasty reaction was different, namely it was Mr. Campeanu's certitude that the results of the poll were absolutely correct and that he was far from being the long-expected groom. The reaction of a choleric (although he usually manages to hide his temper in public, it sometimes shows to the keener observer, especially when he is contradicted); Mr. Campeanu's reaction was utterly out of line and it makes us think. If he is (or if he was) elected, how would we be able to be rid of Mr. President Campeanu democratically if we, the people, did not want him after a while? By elections? Hard to imagine, because he would stubbornly deny the evidence itself. And having the reins of power in his hands, especially since we couldn't be always bothering foreign observers...

Yes, Mr. Campeanu, that was a tactical mistake. It might have been better to have accepted the "Timisoara version" of taking over power. Should I remind you what that was all about?

It is being said (but you are the only one who can confirm or deny this) that you were not completely in the dark about ex-King Michael's intention to come to Romania.

Moreover, you suggested to certain officials that a visit by his ex-majesty could contribute to the country's stability. At the same time, say some, you prepared a meeting in Timisoara for the ex-king, where "the unanimous will of the people" (the same as under the former dictator) would have proclaimed—in the spirit of the Proclamation of Timisoara, specially staged for the purpose—that we could not elect a "communist" president and that the ex-king's abdication was legally void. In that situation, you and Mr. Ratiu would have withdrawn your candidacies and "the great assembly of Timisoara" would have proclaimed the monarchy, in some way repeating the return of another king, who abdicated but later changed his mind (that seems to be a family mania), Carol II. The seal was ready; we still recall an obscure party which had fabricated (coincidentally?) a bizarre stamp which read, "The Crown Council, 27 April" (!?). The subsequent explanations of that pseudo-party chairman did not convince anyone. And so the mystery seems to be lifting. The first acts of the "monarchy" had to be sealed with a pretense of officiality, didn't they? Especially since the first foreign contracts were also ready and waiting. Mr. Campeanu had already arranged a visit to the United States, where he had been promised a meeting with the secretary of state and even with the President. Evidently, the U.S. President was not going to waste his time talking to the chairman of an obscure, non-legitimate pseudo-liberal party, but he could—especially at the request of the CIA—confer a certain legitimacy upon the putsch organized in Timisoara, probably with international assent.

You did not have the guts to go on, Mr. Campeanu, or did the cancelled visit of the ex-monarch spoil your plans? I repeat, you are the only person who can confirm or deny this rumor, which actually came to us (guess from where?) from the United States, from where you returned to try another method, since no American official agreed to contribute to your credibility. We all remember how for a whole week we asked ourselves curiously: Where has Campeanu disappeared to in the midst of the electoral campaign?

You were hasty then, and you were hasty now, Mr. Campeanu. Haste is not a sign of wisdom. Not even Mr. Pales's haste to cancel the elections even before they took place. The solemn air of the voters, Mr. Campeanu, marked the moral bankruptcy of a policy of force.

Markovic Discusses Environmental Protection

LD0506212490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Together with the development of a completely new system, which requires increased economic efficiency and the establishment of political democracy, the need for a new quality of life, for which a clean environment is crucial, is increasingly prominent. Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, said this in the course of the talks with members of the city sections for environmental protection of the permanent conference of cities and municipalities of Yugoslavia, on the occasion of World Environment Day.

We need a good program to make progress in this area, Markovic continued. However, a program by itself cannot eliminate all present ecological problems. The winding down of "dirty" technology is inevitable. The program will put in the first place the protection from secondary consequences of a further technological development. [passage omitted]

Reaction to Markovic Plans for New Party

AU0706092590

[Editorial Report] Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian on 29 May, Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 29 May, Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 29 May, and Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 29 May carry commentaries on the announcement that Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, made about plans to form his own party. Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 30 May carries two more commentaries about Markovic's party, one reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE and another from Titograd POBJEDA.

Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian on 29 May on page 2 carries a 1,200-word commentary by Goran Litvan entitled "Political Trump Up the Economic Sleeve," which says at the beginning that "if there is a man of consensus in this Yugoslavia of today, this Yugoslavia fighting for democracy while balancing on the blade of the knife of nationalist intolerance, it can only be Ante Markovic," and goes on to say that, "considering the reputation he enjoys, Markovic has now become a rival to all ruling national leaders who still have to confirm their charisma in competition with the aspirants from the opposition. In a situation in which a single vote can be decisive, with his 'economic homogenization,' Markovic is seriously threatening the heads of some painstakingly cherished national electoral bases, although he is clearly not interested in parts of Yugoslavia, but in Yugoslavia as a whole."

"In any case," Litvan says at the end, "Markovic is serious. Judging from the first year of his term of office as premier, the 'serious thinking' will be backed by serious political work. However, the key of Markovic's party success is hidden in the efficiency of the reform. Every success will be

a 'plus' on his political bill, just as every mistake will be a 'minus.' He will not have it easy on the political scene, but his possible rivals may have it even more difficult. This is exactly why they are nervous."

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 29 May on page 1 carries a 800-word commentary by Radovan Stipetic entitled "Markovic's Party" in which the author says that "the intention of Federal Premier Ante Markovic to found his own party is very unusual and puzzling, so all kinds of hypotheses about what this is leading to are possible." He adds that "if anything is clear there, it is the fact that Markovic has shrewdly gotten into a politically empty space created by the (final) disaster of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a united Yugoslav political power," and that "if his government needs a political force to support it over the entire state territory (since the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is this no longer and, anyway, Markovic would not want it to be such), the decision to form a 'new party' seems from his point of view not only wise, but also necessary."

"However," Stipetic goes on to say, "not even Markovic can close his eyes to the fact that the inevitable question of agreeing to redefine the relations among the peoples and among the republics has been put on the agenda in this country; this has already begun in the wake of the democratic elections in Slovenia and Croatia, and democratic elections in other republics (when they are carried out and if they are carried out) will probably have the same result. Only such an agreement could turn this state into a 'community of free and equal peoples,' something which was often meant to be done during the 70 or so years of its existence, but rarely succeeded. If no such agreement is reached, this state will not exist either.

"It would therefore be wrong if Markovic (or somebody else implementing his idea) wanted to represent this party as an exclusive savior of Yugoslavia, the savior not only of its integrity, but also of some kind of integrationist idea, something which would be meant to precede a possible agreement instead of coming in its wake. In that case, the party would run aground on the fact that the peoples in this state are primarily preoccupied by the question of their national existence, even more than by their social existence which, according to all theoretical formulas, would have to have priority.

"Hypothetical saviors of Yugoslavia acting above or beyond the interest of these peoples were regularly rejected by these peoples, and only to be rejected by history in the end, too: Let us only recall King Alexander and the premier during his 6 January dictatorship, General Zivkovic, who was the founder of the Yugoslav National Party. As a rule, unitarist utopias end as centralist tricks."

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 29 May on page 7 carries a 1,000-word commentary by Janko Lorenci which says:

"It is still possible that the political fox, Markovic, is only trying to strengthen his position with his, now

virtually official, announcement that he will form his own party, and is thus saying to the old and new republican powers: Do not throw too many spanners in the works, because I may take your voters and become even stronger and invulnerable. After the premier's interview with the BBC, it seems that he is becoming more and more serious about this idea."

Lorenci sees opposition to Markovic both in the east of the country, because he is helping to break the party monopoly, and the West, because he is seen as an obstacle to confederation. His economic reform needs a quick reform of ownership. "In such a situation, Markovic obviously judged that he needs his own political basis (the federal party that enthroned him has already fallen apart), which means his voters and his party."

Lorenci admits that Markovic is "in many respects a very positive institution on the Yugoslav scene," but his own party "hides dangerous traps." "We could say that above all the 'Yugoslavs' would vote for Markovic. Markovic would in any case obtain from his voters a blank check for a misty new socialism. Counting on such electoral support, with such a parliament behind him, and with such a strong governmental position as the Federal Executive Council enjoys even now (partly thanks to the impotence of other federal bodies), Markovic—undoubtedly a person with a strong ego and a man with a 'mission'—would face strong Napoleonic and neo-integrationist temptations, justified in a way by the fact that Yugoslavia, as it is now, really is not governable."

"The essence of Markovic's idea of his own party therefore lies in abandoning himself to the illusion that he could get out of this deadlock with the state structure of Yugoslavia unchanged, only with the government in a different, stronger position, strengthened by direct contact with the people, bypassing present legitimate and illegitimate republican authorities. Basically, Markovic wants to perpetuate the present system in Yugoslavia."

Lorenci sees little chance of success for Markovic's idea because of regional opposition. He concludes: "It would probably be more sensible for Markovic himself if he used the energy which he is going to spend on his own personal party for beginning to prepare the groundwork for confederation negotiations. He will survive most easily if he assumes the leadership in these talks."

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 29 May on page 4 carries a 1,000-word commentary by Vlado Mokrov entitled "From a Party Government to a Government Party." The author says that Ante Markovic "has once more stirred up the Yugoslav public," and that the reaction that followed was "what one could expect from our controversial practice: it ranged from violent attacks (mostly by the Serbian media) to the full approval and support of the people who see the popular Yugoslav premier and his idea (or intention) both as a unique alternative to the old League of Communists, so worn out by mutual quarrels and internal clashes, as well

as a unique realistic integrational factor within these national-political beginnings of the multiparty system in Yugoslavia."

"It is unclear to many," Mokrov says further, "how such a party can function in our political system—despite the fact that this system has been partly reformed (or is being reformed)—considering the way in which republican parties are formed, as well as the elections in Slovenia and Croatia." He adds that "several things are indisputable about Markovic," who is "one of very few people, if not the only one to have a complete political-economic program for today and for tomorrow, and one can hardly ignore the initial results of the economic reform, above all the drastic fall in inflation, which if nothing else, has at least a huge psychological effect following the apathy and pessimism that lasted for many years."

"On the other hand, in a situation when the Yugoslav League of Communists virtually does not exist (although some Communists neither see this nor want to see it) and when two of its sections have lost in the elections, many people (and they are probably very much right) tend to see in Ante Markovic the only possibility for the reintegration of Yugoslav society based on the new market and modern political ideas." "Moreover," Mokrov goes on to say, "this can also be that very much expected consistent reply to all political meetings of a narrow national type and to the breakup of the Yugoslav territory with all its dangers for the country's economic and political destiny."

"Nevertheless, despite all this, there are many dilemmas which result from the present position of the people initiating the formation of such a party, including even the question of how it can appear at the coming elections which it has been announced are to be held by the end of year. However, as concerns Ante Markovic, one thing is very clear: One can reproach him for many things, among them even things that he himself is advocating, but one cannot say that he does not know what he is talking about. On the contrary, his activities as a premier have shown so far that all his initiatives are thought out, worked out, and ready to be implemented. It is hard to believe that this time he will step back from his principles, whatever the possible attacks and contrary opinions, or applause, none of which he lacked after his first moves either, and whose first results have only turned many of his opponents into supporters."

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 30 May on page 6 carries two commentaries: A 600-word commentary by Miroslav Jankovic reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE and entitled "Ante as Destiny," and a 500-word commentary by S. Seckic reprinted from Titograd POBJEDA and entitled "Markovic's New Gauntlet."

At the beginning of his commentary in OSLOBODJENJE, Jankovic says the following:

"Ante Markovic is founding his own party: Is this the most important piece of news in Yugoslavia in 1990, just as his December package was move number one last

year? Is Ante Markovic the only Yugoslav politician who always has three moves prepared in advance? It seems to us that this is so."

Jankovic quotes a French commentator, calling Markovic's move—an already constituted government setting up its own party—"logical because it suits Yugoslav political paradoxes." Jankovic continues: "Today Yugoslavia no longer exists in the classical form of a state; it only functions in the person of Premier Markovic, partly on the basis of his successful economic reform and (and this is very significant) his persistent desire to preserve Yugoslavia. The majority of people in Yugoslavia see and feel this, which is the salutary foundation stone of the former state, which still exists and upon which Markovic may be able to reconstruct Yugoslavia. In order to be able to do so, he needs a party and a mandate. He cannot get a new mandate without a party, because he had gained and then won again a mandate in a state and a system that now no longer exists. Therefore, what Ante Markovic is facing now is a very complicated political and not mathematical calculation. So far, he has been very successful with algebra, but will he be as successful with political mathematics?"

"If analysts dealing with Yugoslavia, both domestic and (particularly) foreign, used to say about Slobodan Milosevic at the beginning that he was the first to realize that Tito was dead, one can say of Ante Markovic that he was the first to 'latch on' to the most important thing: The 50-year-old Yugoslavia as was set up by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] is dead, but it, unlike its dead creator, can be replaced with a new Yugoslavia. Through a strange intuition, the people see and follow the premier's lucid inventiveness and extend an increasingly more comprehensive support to him, laying their fiery hopes in some new Yugoslavia."

In his commentary reprinted from POBJEDA, S. Scekic says that Markovic's interview with Reuters and the BBC meant "a confirmation from on high of announcements and guesswork over the last several months. For a long time, one could hear suggestions coming from various sides that the doubtlessly most popular Yugoslav politician—according to latest opinion polls, he pushed to the side many national leaders such as Milan Kucan, Franjo Tudjman, and Slobodan Milosevic—should found his own party, which should certainly bear the hallmark of Yugoslavism. One such proposal, made by a Slovene delegate, was recently heard in the Federal Assembly, and the Macedonian Socialist Alliance, for instance, offered Markovic a place on its party list. There have been some similar ideas in many readers' letters carried in the press. Finally, the government representatives themselves, headed by the premier, have on many occasions hinted at the possibility of such an action, pointing out that they will not allow anybody to boast with borrowed feathers in their caps, that is, their results in the economy and politics, and that the government will subject its program to the competition at elections.

"The broad support to the reforms Markovic's government has thought out and is realizing also comes from people with various party affiliations—socialists, liberals, democrats, and, of course, communists—but also from supporters of rightist parties. Simply, nobody has offered anything cleverer and better, and the one which is now on the scene is accepted by the suddenly approving international financial institutions, which are more and more certain that we shall repay our debts and are therefore giving us more money.

"In any case, Markovic's ministers would have to undergo a certain kind of metamorphosis, because they are all members of the former League of Communists of Yugoslavia toward which the premier, when announcing the new party, put up a significant distance ('this will depend on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia')

The ever-smiling premier used to confuse people in the past, too, with his seemingly exaggerated optimism. What happened today has proved him right."

Croatian Opposition on Markovic's Plan

AU0706171790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
30 May 90 p 3

[Natasa Kraljevic and Zorica Stanivukovic report on VJESNIK's "mini-poll" asking leaders of several Croatian parties their opinion on the government's plans to found its own party]

[Excerpts]

Croatian Social Liberal Party: "It Does Not Stand a Chance"

"I am surprised by Markovic's initiative, because, as far as I know, in the history of our politics, it has never happened that a government has set up its own party. This is also very rare throughout the world." This was stated by Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, commenting on the announcement of the so-called "government's party." He thinks that the intention behind this is to form a new political party that would replace the disintegrated League of Communists of Yugoslavia and enable Markovic to attain a majority in the future Federal Assembly. According to him, such expectations are not realistic, and the government does not stand a very good chance in the next elections. "We welcome the founding of new political parties in our country, but it is difficult to imagine the Croatian Social Liberal Party, as an opposition party, cooperating with the party founded by the government, and until the next elections, we intend to act as an opposition party," Budisa said.

Croatian Party for Justice: "Only the Gear Has Been Changed"

"We do not know much about the government's future party, and we will be able to say something about possible cooperation with it only when we have become acquainted with its program and the aims for which it

strives. So far we do not know what kind of party it will be," said Kresimir Pavelic, secretary of the Croatian Party for Justice [Hrvatska stranka prava]. If, however, time reveals that only "the gear has been changed, but the players remain the same," and if the party turns out to be a pro-Yugoslav party which advocates a federal system, Pavelic said, I doubt that it would be possible for the Croatian Party for Justice to cooperate with Markovic's party, because, as he said, "such principles are unacceptable for the Croatian Party for Justice."

Croatian Christian Democratic Party: "Yet Another Party of Democratic Reforms"

"Markovic's party, as far as I understand, is supposed to be a transnational party, and, since the Croatian Christian Democratic Party strives for the same aim, some similarities already exist." This was stated by Ivan Cesar, vice president of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party. Although my party welcomes the emergence of new parties, the development of pluralism, and, above all, the pluralist way of thinking, we will only be able to think about a coalition when the government's future party presents its program and declaration. Cesar believes that "at the present time of learning democracy" the parties which have the greatest chance of winning the elections are the parties which strive for economic prosperity in the country, for peace at home and in the world, and for a respectable position of Croatia and other countries in Europe. In view of that, the government's party could have considerable chances in the election, Cesar said, but expressed fear that this could be "yet another party of democratic reforms, as Communists call themselves."

Autonomous Democratic Alliance of Croatia: "Slim Chances"

Darinko Kosar of the Autonomous Democratic Alliance of Croatia [Autonomni demokratski savez Hrvatske] believes that the idea about forming a government's party came too late, because "now, when everything is going the confederation way, such a party would have slim chances." [passage omitted]

Croatian Democratic Party: "Markovic's Illusion"

"I think that Markovic's move is not good, especially considering the polyvalent character of Yugoslavia. Is this some new kind of Yugo-integralism [yugointegralism] or something similar to it?" asked Vladimir Veselica of the Croatian Democratic Party. [passage omitted] "It is an illusion that Markovic's program can save Yugoslavia, because this cannot be done with only economic reforms, without previous political transformation. An economic program cannot produce results anywhere in the world without political reforms, and this is where the West, which finds Markovic attractive because he is using its methods, is wrong," Veselica said. Acknowledging the success of Markovic's economic moves, Veselica said that the Federal Executive Council cannot be the exponent of constitutional changes and that founding a government's party is an unusual thing.

Radical Association for United States of Europe: "Why Not?"

"Nobody can deprive Markovic of the right to have his own political view, and the political marketplace will decide whether it wants such a party or not. Everybody should be allowed to think beyond state, regional, and republican borders, including Markovic," said Vito Cernadziski, president of the Radical Association for the United States of Europe [Radikalno udruzenje za sjedinjene evropske drzave]. [passage omitted]

League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Reforms: "An Interesting Move"

Boris Malada, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, said that one will be able to say more about Markovic's party once it presents its program. The Communists believe that they will have many points in common with Markovic's party and that they will even cooperate on some issues, because the League of Communists of Croatia accepted Markovic's program even during the preelection activities. "For us, Markovic's move is very interesting, because a large number of our supporters also supports Markovic. The leadership should now think about what kind of stand it needs to adopt," Malada explained. Concerning the government's latest move, Malada also said: "We live in a time of paradoxes, but Markovic obviously thinks that he should fight for his program with a party. This perhaps reduces the number of his supporters, but those who trust him are loyal."

Serbian Democratic Party: "Nice Move"

"We support Markovic's program not only because it is economically sound, but also because of the way it deals with freedom and democracy, which is similar to ours," said Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party. [passage omitted]

Socialist Party of Croatia: "He Has the Right To Do it"

"My principled view is that every individual or group of citizens has the right, in accordance with the regulations, to found a party, and so does Markovic," said Zeljko Mazar, the newly elected president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Croatia [Republička konferencija Saveza socijalista Hrvatske], explaining the premier's idea. Since the program of the new government is still unknown, Mazar believed that it was difficult to say anything else, but added that the Yugoslav pluralist scene is undoubtedly richer. He also stressed that the Socialists extended their support to the president of the Federal Executive Council to run for the office again in view of his successful economic program, although they expect him to elaborate on his social program.

Social Democratic Alliance of Croatia: "He Is Seeking an Image"

"Markovic's decision is not surprising. It is quite clear that the government's president wants to transform his initial success with economic reforms into real political capital in the multiparty system in the federation," stressed Hrvoje Glavac from the Social Democratic Alliance of Croatia [Socijaldemokratski savez Hrvatske]. It is quite clear that there is no party, except the Social Democratic Alliance of Croatia/Social Democratic Alliance of Yugoslavia, which could enter elections at the federal level throughout Yugoslavia, Glavac said, adding that Markovic would have been in a stronger position if, in addition to having an image of an economic reformer, he also had an image of a political reformer. [passage omitted]

Croatian Christian Party: "He Is Seeking Wider Support"

Stjepan Hercog, president of the Croatian Christian Party, stresses that it is obvious that Markovic also wants to get the support of the citizens and not only of the weakened Communists who had otherwise extended him their support. In this way he is directly testing the credibility of his program. "The government's party would not be at variance with the program of the Croatian Democratic Community and the Croatian Democratic Bloc," Hercog said, supporting Markovic's move. What was important in his view was that Markovic's idea reduces the topicality of the discussion on the amendments to the federal Constitution and renders it superfluous.

Serbian Deputy Premier on Pristina Programming

LD0106161390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 31 May 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 May (TANJUG)—Instead of talks about the implementation of the Serbian Assembly program on Kosovo, at the 31 May meeting of top personnel of Radio-Television Pristina and republican Executive Council representatives, the greater part of the discussion related to clarification of shortcomings of this media organization in programs in Albanian. Several participants in the talks assessed that Albanian journalists have made several professional and political mistakes of late in putting before the microphone people with hostile positions. The representatives of Radio-Television Pristina mainly rejected such claims, stating that they had not received a single official protest about anything they had broadcast recently.

It was said in the talks that programs in Albanian constantly accentuate the alleged threat to Albanians and that there is a tendency to create real "affairs" by means of half-truths and disinformation. It was noted that reports on alleged poisoning were being constantly broadcast and that more space is given to the Kosovo alternative movement than to legal bodies and organizations. On the other hand, such comments are rejected,

particularly on the part of television, and it was claimed that "the alternative movement in Kosovo is not acting outside the system, but is acting on the system," and that in Kosovo "the people have spoken" and journalists should not be blamed for everything.

Momcilo Trajkovic, vice president of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council, noted that in programs of Radio-Television Pristina little space is given to the implementation of the Serbian Assembly program on Kosovo, particularly in Albanian. This is one of the reasons why disinformation is being put out among the public and why this program is represented as colonization.

He called for freedom of information but stressed that if attacks are made on territorial integrity and everything else that is sacred, then the state must defend itself.

In Serbia, we have no intention of abolishing the public information media; rather we intend to develop them further, but we will not support any editorial policy if it does not serve coexistence, Trajkovic said.

He said that assessments of the program content of Radio-Television Pristina were very negative. He demanded that the people should be told the truth, that it should be seen how and on what the people in Kosovo are living, how much is being done, and what is the aim of the Albanian alternative movement.

Trajkovic said that the theory being propagated of late, that the Albanians are defending the autonomy of Kosovo and no one else, is quite wrong. The fact is that the Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and others do not want to create a republic of Kosovo and a second Albanian state in Serbia. They do not agree to the kind of autonomy that existed. Kosovo must be autonomous but not a state. The Albanian people must realize that they live in the state of Serbia, which is the state of the Serbian nation, but also of all other nations and nationalities that live in it, Trajkovic concluded.

Serbian SAWP, LC To Form Political Party

LD0706163790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—At their joint session today the presidia of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] and the Serbian LC CC [League of Communists Central Committee] endorsed the proposal that the Serbian SAWP and the Serbian LC merge and form a new Socialist Party of Serbia.

By endorsing the proposal for the unification of these two political organizations, the two presidia asserted the fact that over the last three years, since the eighth session of the Serbian LC CC, the Serbian LC had proved itself as a party which fights for democratic socialism while the SAWP had proved itself as a genuine and independent people's party and that they had strived together to

achieve the same aims: to establish the united state of Serbia and secure its social and economic progress and democracy.

The two presidia have decided to propose to the SAWP republican conference and the Serbian LC CC to convene their congress of unification by mid-July this year.

Slobodan Milosevic also took part in the work of today's session of the two presidia, chaired by Radmila Andjelkovic and Bogdan Trifunovic.

Serbian Presidency Member Discusses Elections

AU0706163190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
1 Jun 90 p 4

[V.M. report: "Enemy Is Not Sugar Beet"]

[Text] If need be, Serbia too is prepared to become an independent state, since it used to be independent before the creation of Yugoslavia. However, this can only be an enforced position, because Serbia primarily sees itself within Yugoslavia. Nobody in Serbia is stubborn enough that he does not want to talk to the others, but not without dignity. We will not beg anybody.

Multiparty elections in Serbia will follow soon. They could not have been held before the adoption of a new constitution. The people will then decide whom to give their trust.

Much has been done in Kosovo since Serbia has taken things into its own hands. A dream about a great Albania and the republic of Kosovo is slowly vanishing, because Albanians themselves are beginning to see that the alternative movements are leading them in the wrong direction. Expelling emigrants and immigrants is a permanent job. This is not "a sugar beet harvest," but an act involving the expulsion of the enemy. This was stated by Mihalj Kertes, member of the Serbian Presidency, at a forum discussion in Sremska Mitrovica last night.

Serbian Opposition Plans Demonstrations 13 Jun

AU0706213990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
1 June 90 p 3

[I. R. report: "Roundtable Talks About Elections"]

[Text] Belgrade— We have learned from sources close to the republican leadership that the members of the Serbian Presidency are in the "mood" for an "election agreement" with representatives of opposition parties in Serbia.

As we were unofficially told, the opposition will "quite certainly" be invited for talks with members of the Serbian Presidency regarding an agreement on elections, so that the whole thing could be "properly done."

Despite all our efforts, we did not manage to find out whether a meeting with the opposition will be held before the demonstrations which its representatives plan to hold on 13 June. That the Presidency is only "considering" the talks, despite the claim that the talks are "certain," is best illustrated by the following:

Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party (a member of the Serbian opposition bloc which called for elections and announced demonstrations for 13 June), told us that so far no representative of the opposition was given a "sign" by or received information from the Presidency that would confirm the story about "a meeting with the opposition."

The deadline which the opposition gave the Presidency and the Serbian Assembly to answer the question about when elections will be held in Serbia expires on 5 June. Micunovic said that on 11 June there will be a news conference at which the demonstrations scheduled for 13 June will officially be announced.

It is also worth mentioning that, according to Micunovic, there will be no party insignia or banners at the demonstrations. The demonstrators will carry only the banners which will serve the basic aim of the protest, to obtain a date for free elections, for the adoption of election laws, and for holding roundtable talks at which the authorities and opposition would agree on all these issues.